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40 Cents

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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

Doyle Niemann



Douglas Fraser, UAW president, at the Democratic Agenda Conference.

## Capitalism at the crossroads

At last week's momentous Democratic Agenda conference in Washington, two differing views on the obstacles to full employment in capitalism were presented.

The differences recalled the early debates of the anti-war movement around who was to blame—the system or the bureaucrats.

Some participants at the conference argued that the "economic nonsense" propagated by establishment economists like Charles Schultze was a major barrier to full employment. With their arguments that anything less than 4 percent unemployment would create intolerable inflation, these economists had undeservedly won the minds of Jimmy Carter and of corporate leaders.

Other argued for a more apocalyptic view. They maintained that capitalism, as presently structured, will not tolerate full employment. To have full employment, it must either be transformed or overthrown. They saw full employment as a "radical reform" whose pursuit would challenge the basis of capitalism.

Whereas the one group tended to dismiss out of hand the establishment economists, the other partly built its case on the truth contained in their views.

### Blaming the bureaucrats.

The UAW's Doug Fraser, the Machinists' William Winpisinger, and Helen Henderson of the Environmentalists for Full Employment, were among those who led the attack against the economists.

They charged the economists with moral obloquy for not being concerned with the women, minorities and teenagers who would remain out of work if 4 or 5 percent remained the level of employment.

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They charged them with theoretical obtuseness for adhering to the outmoded Phillips Curve, according to which a rise or fall in employment leads to a rise or fall in prices. They accused them of historical blindness for forgetting that both unemployment and inflation were less than 4 percent during much of the '50s and '60s.

On each of these points, however, the economists are on at least as good ground as their critics.

### In defense of Schultze.

Schultze and his cohorts understand that the Phillips curve is inaccurate. They do not argue that reducing employment will automatically reduce inflation, but only that a decrease in unemployment past a certain level will inspire inflation. That level is different than it was in the '50s because the working class has changed.

The widespread entry of minorities and women into the workforce has segmented the American working class into different parts. Instead of their being one reserve army of the unemployed for the entire working class, each part has its reserve army, which acts to limit workers' bargaining power and keep wages down.

With unemployment less than four percent (some economists estimate from 5 to 7 percent), there will be near full employment among certain trades and professions that are largely confined to white adult males even while there is substantial unemployment among women, minorities, and youth. These workers will be able to bargain up their wages. As unemployment goes still lower, the upward pressure on wages will spread throughout the workforce.

This pressure on wages can lead to higher prices, although often not in the precise manner prescribed by the "wage-price spiral." Large firms count wages in their price calculation, but their planning period is usually longer than the term of the union contract. When a firm raises prices right after a wage increase, it is often because it can then blame the entire increase on the wage bill. But an anticipation of rapidly rising wage costs will lead firms to plan price increases.

Inflationary pressures can manifest themselves more immediately, however, in the service sector, with prices and taxes rising along with wages; and from there spreading elsewhere.

In either case, upward pressure on wages will increase the likelihood of inflation, as the establishment economists have argued.

### The step not taken.

But Schultze and his cohorts often end their analysis here, especially when it is for public consumption. In fact they are more concerned with the threat an increase in employment poses to profit rates and to investment incentive than its threat to price levels.

In the '50s, American corporations were sufficiently far ahead of their rivals and their rate of productivity was high enough to absorb most wage increases without price increases and without any threat to their profits. But key American industries now find themselves threatened by foreign competition and unwilling to accept any increase in costs, whether it comes through higher than usual wage increases, corporate tax increases, or an increase in the price of necessary services. For this reason, they are dead set against full employment.

In this respect, Schultze's economic theories, far from being nonsense, reflect the imperatives of capitalist production in the '70s.

The full employment advocates who took Schultze more or less at his word and argued that capitalism itself was the enemy were on firmer ground during the Democratic Agenda conference than those who blamed Schultze for capitalism's ills.

### The transition.

To put the matter in the broadest historical context:

Business and labor are today in a position similar to the one they found themselves in during the late 19th century. At that time, industrialists saw the threat posed by unionization and higher wages as a life-or-death matter. Given the competitive system, an individual firm that granted higher wages could not compete with firms that did not.

Workers were divided among those who foresaw some future accommodation with capital and those who saw socialism as the only solution.

Competitive capitalism did not survive, but instead of begetting socialism, it begat monopoly capitalism. Unlike the competitive firm, the monopoly firm had the necessary power over pricing and its market to accommodate the unions.

But now monopoly capitalism faces a similar challenge to the one competitive capitalism faced: on key issues like full employment, it can no longer accommodate the needs of both workers and capitalists.

### Corporate socialism.

Those at the conference who saw no solution within present day capitalism to the problems of unemployment nevertheless saw the U.S. facing a choice.

It could move toward socialism in which employment, investment, and income are democratically planned to meet social needs. Such a society could not merely guarantee full employment; it could lessen the amount of unpleasant but necessary work; and it could reshape economic priorities to take account of our endangered environment.

Or America could move toward a new stage of capitalism that economist Gar Alperovitz termed "corporate socialism" in which the state plans on behalf of corporate interests. Within such a system, full employment could be accommodated by the state's restraining workers' wages demands and inducing capitalists to invest even when the rate of return was modest.

This kind of state capitalism would initially be opposed by both business and labor, but as business leaders came to see no other alternative but socialism, they would be willing to cede much of their individual control of investment as long as they could retain their earnings and their class power. In this respect, the transition to state capitalism would resemble the earlier transition to monopoly capitalism.

### Understandable differences.

The representatives of this "socialist" point of view were sprinkled generously among the conference participants and speakers. What they had to say was received seriously and appreciatively.

By the conference's end, it seemed that the differences in approach to the unemployment problem reflected as much the differing vocations of their respective proponents than it did their enduring convictions.

The socialist proponents tended to be concentrated among the college professors and freefloating intellectuals and activists, while those who took the anti-Schultze path were concentrated among the labor leaders and politicians. Being responsible to constituencies that were often to their right, the labor leaders and politicians had to exercise a certain caution that the intellectuals did not. And it expressed itself in making Schultze the main enemy.

Even to participate in a conference explicitly called by socialists was a courageous and pathbreaking step for these leaders. And it indicated the slow but steady movement toward socialist politics within the Democratic party and the labor movement.

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# A big step forward in full employment campaign

By Dan Marschall

The burgeoning campaign for full employment took a healthy step forward Nov. 11-13 as over 1,000 trade unionists, Democratic party reformers and progressive activists convened in Washington, D.C., under the banner of the Democratic Agenda Conference. While the campaign's future direction remains unclear, the conference, initiated by Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), clearly achieved its minimal goal: to bring together often-hostile constituencies, promote an exchange of ideas and begin to explore co-operative activities.

"We came here basically with one idea—to start to build a mass, popular movement in the U.S. that brings labor, liberal and progressive forces together around the issue of unemployment. Somehow we've got to bring together those forces and we've got to be willing to make some compromises on all sides," declared Dick Wilson, director of the Labor Division of the Chicago-based Midwest Academy. That coalition-building theme was sounded repeatedly by conference participants, many of whom saw it as a hopeful sign that the wounds dividing labor, liberal Democrats, feminists, environmentalists and others were beginning to heal.

## Forty percent from labor.

About 40 percent of those attending were trade unionists, including international officials, local union leaders and staff persons. Major addresses were made by Jerry Wurf, president of the State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Machinists' president William Winpisinger; and United Auto Workers' president Douglas Fraser.

The second largest contingent came from the reform ranks of the Democratic party. It included the state chairs of the party in Wisconsin and Minnesota, several black councilmen from the District of Columbia, members of the Democratic National Committee, leaders of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), and activists from the California Democratic Council. Their full employment work is expected to center on the party's mid-term convention next year.

Also represented, in smaller numbers, were women's, environmentalist, community and minority organizations. These included the National Organization for Women, the National Women's Political Caucus, Boston's Nine To Five, Friends of the Earth, Environmentalists for Full Employment, the New Jersey Tenants Organization, and Connecticut's La Casa de Puerto Rico.

Considering the size and composition of the conference it was one of the most significant gatherings of progressive forces under socialist auspices in decades.

## No grand program.

While the event itself was an obvious success, few participants harbored illusions about the ease of cohering a broad-based coalition or about the prospect of affecting government policy in the immediate future. Speakers avoided proposing grand programs or universal panaceas to sweep away the unemployment mess. Many recognized that full employment—the right to a job for anyone willing and able to work—remains an abstract amalgam of issues that would entail fundamental changes in American capitalism.

"I'm beginning to wonder whether when we gather in a coalition like this, we are going through a therapeutic exercise in discovering how bad things are, shaking hands with old comrades, or whether we're prepared to put together what it takes to make the kind of fundamental changes and fundamental responses that we need from the political system," cautioned Jerry Wurf.



More than 1000 activists gathered in Washington for full employment, bringing together often hostile constituencies and beginning the process of developing strategy.

Photos by Doyle Niemann



Bella Abzug, top, addressed the gathering, calling for renewed effort when people returned home. Gar Alperovitz, bottom, said that the system we want has a name and we shouldn't be afraid to use it—socialism.

In an effort to find concrete handles for the full employment campaign, speakers presented a variety of issues around which they thought diverse constituencies could unite. Uppermost in the minds of everyone was the Humphrey-Hawkins "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act," first introduced in 1974 and altered five times to placate Congressional and business opposition. (ITT, June 8.)

On Nov. 11, the day before the conference began, President Carter stated that he would support the latest compromise version of Humphrey-Hawkins, which would set a target unemployment goal of 4 percent to be reached by 1983. Unlike earlier versions, the Carter "full employment" bill, as emerging from negotiations with the Congressional Black Caucus, would neither establish a mandatory unemployment limit nor require the President to

submit a separate annual full employment plan.

## Reaction to Humphrey-Hawkins.

Conference participants were divided in their reactions to the bill, whose complete text has yet to be released. Economist Nat Weinberg and Robert Lekachman are totally opposed because of the extensive compromises, though Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich), a Black Caucus member, characterized it as a "tremendous step forward."

"There are requirements in the bill that the President enunciate the plan by which we are going to reach a target objective. He's got to make an economic statement at the beginning of every year to determine how he's going to deal with unemployment. It puts him in a terrible bind and also gets it out into the national arena,"

Conyers told IN THESE TIMES.

DSOC national chair Michael Harrington shared the criticisms of the bill but said that it was "politically crazy" to oppose it because labor and the Black Caucus have long been fighting for it. He viewed it as a potential organizing tool and political weapon that would provide progressives with an opportunity to apply pressure around the President's annual message.

Another organizing focus, suggested by Winpisinger, was a revised version of the counter budget proposed by the National Urban Coalition in 1971. "It remains one of the most practical and prophetic documents of the last quarter century," he declared. "Maybe new sections should be added, which include technological change and international trade. It should also get into a comprehensive analysis of income and wealth distribution in the U.S. today."

The formulation of this budget will begin soon, Winpisinger told IN THESE TIMES. "Doug Fraser and myself will probably sponsor a small group of pros—from our unions, the economic profession, and community leaders—and we'll draw the counter budget over again, put it out under the aegis of the unions or this conference, and rally some support. Of course we'll put it out through our local unions."

## Energy and a shorter work week.

Others saw the energy issue as integral to any full employment campaign. The Midwest Academy, for instance, is organizing a national community and labor coalition to demand an "energy policy that is designed to stimulate employment, provide necessary energy to the public at reasonable cost, encourage conservation, and lead to the development of safe, clean renewable sources of energy." Coalition organizers intend to hold a national convention soon to adopt a program and develop an organizational structure.

Another approach towards full employment is proposed by a trade union committee formed in Detroit last month to organize for a shorter work week (ITT, Nov. 9). Rep Conyers is planning to introduce legislation that would require double-time for work over 35 hours per week and ban compulsory overtime, provisions that supporters claim would create almost eight million new jobs.

While these possibly-divergent campaigns were presented at the conference, none were fully discussed. Some participants feared that instead of working on a central full-employment-related issue, different forces would go their separate ways, thereby lessening their combined impact.

The conference was drawn together by a "coalition from the top," composed mainly of DSOC, trade union officers, and Democratic party figures. But there were indications of a commitment to translate the energy there into local organizing. The final day, devoted to "what to do next," contained a rousing address by the Midwest Academy's Heather Booth who discussed the citizen action movement, accountability meetings for Congresspeople, and building local mobilizations in the fight for jobs.

## A mid-term focus.

DSOC organizers readily admit that they do not have the final answers for how to foster local activity. They therefore did not present a coherent full employment strategy at the meeting. In the next few weeks the main forces behind the conference will hold an informal planning meeting to begin working out follow-up actions. A prime focus will be the Democratic mid-term convention in 1978.

They hope to move that convention away from the legalisms that have domi-

Continued on page 18.



## ELECTION

## Cleveland elects insurgent mayor

**T**en years ago Cleveland was the first major American city to elect a black mayor. In 1971 it became the largest city to elect a Republican mayor. This month Cleveland voters chose the youngest big city mayor, one who calls himself a populist.

Dennis Kucinich, a 31-year-old native of Cleveland's ethnic neighborhood, parlayed 10 years of brash headline grabbing and citizen opposition to bossism into a victory over both Democratic and Republican party machines.

Kucinich, a marverick Democrat, defeated party-endorsed Edward Feighan, 30-year-old state legislator and nephew of a former Cleveland Congressman, by 3,000 votes of the 183,000 cast. Both Democrats had outpolled Republican Mayor Ralph Perk in an October primary. Perk had originally been expected to retain the office for a fourth term.

Kucinich's victory was all the more dramatic considering the lack of traditional political, economic and labor support (the UAW alone supported him). He countered the lack of money and organization by seizing upon popular issues.

Most observers, including Cuyahoga County Republican chairman Bob Hughes, credited Kucinich's victories to citizen anger over the sale of the municipal light plant to a private utility (ITT, May 18) and property tax abatements of some \$30 million for downtown office complexes.

The sale of the light plant and the property tax abatements crystallized community anger. "For thousands of little people, Kucinich articulated their feeling that city government has been a gigantic ripoff," one veteran reporter commented.

The two local issues contributed to what local reporters called the "Tuesday Massacre." Seven city council members were defeated, including the former mayor's son and his only Republican colleague, and the seven-term Democratic majority leader.

The election, in part, pitted downtown interests against neighborhood needs. Another Perk program that Kucinich attacked and promised to kill was a \$50-million "People Mover," an elevated computer rapid transit for downtown.

"People were plain fed up with downtown getting all the attention and the people getting nothing but unreliable garbage collection," says Pat McCabe, an organizer for Active Clevelanders Together (ACT), a city-wide grassroots organization.

Cleveland prides itself as the third largest corporate headquarters city for Fortune 500 companies. Corporate interests have traditionally dominated city governments and the political agenda, favoring downtown development to the detriment and neglect of the city's neighborhoods.

But city financial problems, neighborhood deterioration and lack of city services have forced citizens to organize. Citizen groups never let up pressure against the abatements. Despite overwhelming votes in all government committees and before the full city council, where the vote was usually 30 to 3, community groups faithfully testified at every public opportunity. Even after defeat and rebuffs, the groups continued to circulate educational material during the campaign. Using a network of neighborhood, civic and senior citizen groups, the Ohio Public Interest Campaign distributed 30,000 pieces headlined: "You Can't Run Cleveland if You Sell It Out." Other groups added some 25,000 informational pieces on abatement and Muni Light. Candidates were continually challenged on the issue at public meetings.

"It shows that people trapped in urban centers can be mobilized for their own benefit," says one organizer who goes on to add that it will now be necessary for the same forces to advance specific programs to deal with neighborhood

problems, and to see that the new mayor does not co-opt citizen-pushed issues without keeping his campaign promises.

The day following the election Kucinich appeared before the Greater Cleveland Growth Association, a business organiza-

tion combining downtown business and the Chamber of Commerce. Jokingly, he twitted the business executives that the lunch could be "the Last Supper of business interests." He went on, however, to pledge cooperation with business, but

he reiterated his opposition to programs dear to the hearts of business executives. Both abatement and the People Mover are "dead," he told them, and the sale of the Muni Light plant would never be concluded under his administration



Dennis Kucinich articulated the popular feeling that city government was a gigantic rip-off, winning without traditional political, economic and labor support.

Wide World

## LABOR

## Undocumented workers sue over conditions and pay

**S**AN MATEO, CALIF.—Northern California nurseryman Donald Garibaldi once prospered from the use of undocumented or "illegal" workers from Mexico. But this fall his Ano Nuevo Flower Ranch here is reaping nothing but problems.

Garibaldi recently fired eight workers after they challenged deductions from their pay checks. The workers went to the San Mateo District Attorney to complain. The DA investigated and discovered that Garibaldi was withholding \$10 a month as a fee for protection from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and \$45 a month rent for cardboard and plastic lean-to's located on his property.

He called in the Health department, which found that five cardboard and plastic lean-to's, an old trailer and a shed housed 40-60 workers, sometimes as many as five men in a 12x8 lean-to.

One worker testified in a sworn affidavit: "I lived on the ranch with two other persons in a shed formerly used to store insecticide cans... The dimensions of the shed were four feet by eight feet, just large enough to accommodate one double mattress on which the three of us slept. The shed had no windows or sanitary facilities. The odor of insecticides permeated it. The roof was full of holes."

There were only two toilets and one shower for up to 60 workers. (Garibaldi recently upgraded the conditions of those toilets, but raised the workers' rent as well.)

The San Mateo DA filed civil charges and a consumer fraud suit against Garibaldi on Oct. 5. The civil charges seek to fine him for past health code offenses and enjoin him from further violations. The consumer fraud complaint alleges that Garibaldi gained unfair advantage over his competition by deducting the rent and protection fees directly from the workers' paychecks.

Since the DA's actions would not return any lost wages to the workers, San Mateo County Legal Aid filed suit Oct. 11 on behalf of eight Año Nuevo work-

ers seeking back pay and the difference between what they earned from Garibaldi and the federal minimum wage.

Susan Jackson, a Legal Aid lawyer, described how "the workers received a maximum pay of \$1.78 an hour, 72 cents below minimum wage. In addition they were never paid overtime." Legal Aid computes that Garibaldi owes each of the workers an extra \$1.97 an hour for overtime for up to 20 hours a week.

All of the undocumented workers involved have been granted immunity from deportation until the court proceedings are finished.

The DA could have filed criminal charges against Garibaldi but chose not to, according to Assistant DA Joseph Klagsans, because, "We could not go in as speedily with criminal charges since the scheduling in criminal hearings is pretty much controlled by the defendant. Also to prosecute the matter criminally is a lot harder. You have to prove criminal intent beyond a reasonable doubt. The existence of the dwellings satisfies the burden [in a civil case] and we prove by preponderance."

The first case of its kind in San Mateo history, the action by the Año Nuevo workers has stimulated activity by other undocumented workers. Workers on a nearby ranch threatened to strike and forced the dismissal of a foreman accused of brutality.

Jesus Carbajal, a former Año Nuevo worker, now an Immigration Counselor for the non-profit International Institute, points out that the effects of the Año Nuevo case will spread. An increasing number of undocumented workers, he says, no longer think that deportation is worse than suffering low wages and miserable living conditions. "Año Nuevo will be an example to the workers," he adds. "Sure, they are illegal, but they can still use the system to get the guy that is screwing them."

Todd Darling is a California free-lance writer. This article was done with assistance from The Fund for Investigative Journalism.

## WELFARE

## Poor people's representatives meet in Detroit

Approximately 225 people came to Detroit from 13 states in the Midwest Oct. 29-31 to share their concern about welfare reform. It was the second in a series of regional conferences sponsored by the Movement for Economic Justice, the Center for Social Welfare Policy and Law, the Committee on Racial Justice of the National Church of Christ, the Food Research and Action Center in Washington and the National Clients Council on Carter's welfare reform proposals (ITT, Nov. 9).

Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich) described welfare issues as a struggle between the powerful and the powerless. While admitting that Washington listens more to the multinational corporations than to the poor, he stressed the need for the poor to make their concerns known to their legislators.

Frances Piven and Richard Cloward argued that the poor are a political force when they take direct action, but the poor lose power, they said, when they believe their civics lessons and rely on the lobbying process.

In small workshops participants discussed the implications of Carter's proposals, particularly the work requirements. Most welfare recipients in attendance felt that proposed public service jobs were likely to be dead-end jobs with no chance of advancement. They were also concerned that they would be forced to take jobs from union members and would not be permitted to join unions themselves. Many argued that public jobs should be created in local neighborhoods, under community control to fill community needs.

Bert de Leeuw, from the Movement for Economic Justice, said he hoped the conference would help to develop a nationwide network of poor people's organizations and that out of this, and the other regional conferences, would come the beginnings of a new poor people's movement.

—Reva Fahrneback and Judith Transue



## LAND

# Acreage limits under fire

**By Ken Coughlin**  
WASHINGTON—Barely three months old, the Interior department's effort to break up large, federally-irrigated landholdings in the Western states is under heavy attack, much of it orchestrated by those who have the most to lose if proposed regulations become law (ITT, Oct. 12).

In California, agribusiness interests have staged a series of protest demonstrations up and down the water-rich valleys, from Sacramento to San Diego. In Washington, a prominent official of the Agriculture department has been caught lobbying to save his spread in California; the Interior Secretary has suggested the law needs revision; and President Carter has openly sympathized with California's big growers.

The proposed regulations have also come in for heavy criticism at a series of public hearings in western states, where the testimony has been heavily weighted against them and the law that made them necessary.

The regulations propose to limit ownership of farms irrigated by federal water projects to 160 acres per person or 640 per family or business. They are based on the 1902 Reclamation Act by which Congress established federal water projects for western lands, attempting at the same time to prevent their monopolized use by rich growers and absentee corporations.

The measure was never enforced. Last year, however, a federal judge ordered the Interior department to draw up rules of enforcement. Proposed rules were announced in late August by Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus. If they are allowed to stand, big landholders will be compelled to sell off thousands of "excess acres" located in federal water districts.

Officially, those who hold the big acreage are waging their battle through the Westlands Water District and John Brodie, manager-general counsel for the District and one of the highest paid officials (\$80,000 a year) in the state of California.

Brodie and his consortium of large landowners are doing all they can to convince the Bureau of reclamation and the Interior department that the regulations as proposed are unfair to growers.

Unofficially, big money is also at work to ensure that the new rules are never enacted. Rallies are being staged and funds are being collected, giving the appearance of a widespread farmer rebellion against any redistribution in the West.

George Ballis, founder of National Land for People in Fresno, which has spearheaded the movement for redistribution, has already felt the reverberations. "They [the large growers] will raise a million dollars," he says.

In San Diego, 50 huge tractors circled the convention center where the California Republican party was holding its annual meeting.

In the Imperial Valley, where 70 percent of the land is in absentee ownership, one rally attracted 10,000 people. One observer noted, "There aren't that many farmers in the entire Imperial Valley; they're shipping them in from San Diego."

Back in Washington, other pressures have been brought to bear. Assistant Agriculture Secretary Robert Meyer, owner of more than 1,500 acres in the Imperial Valley, discussed his opposition to the 160-acre decision with top administration officials and members of Congress, and even arranged a meeting between fellow Imperial Valley landholders and Gay Martin, assistant secretary of the Interior, the man charged with preparing the new regulations.

Although Meyer was ordered by President Carter to desist from his lobbying activities, opponents of the regulations may have found their most effective representative in the President himself. In an interview with a group of farm editors Carter said, "I think other people can be adequate spokesmen [against the regulations],

including myself, and I think the Secretary needs to know that."

"Seventy-five years ago," he went on, "320 acres for a husband and wife for irrigated land was all they could handle. Now, with massive development and large machinery, a larger acreage is necessary for an economically viable farm operation."

Supporters of the proposed regulations, however, challenge the President's view. "National Land for People has members who are making a living on a lot less than 160 acres," says Ballis. "One of our members who raises 90 acres of cotton cleared \$30,000 last year. I don't think Carter understands irrigated farming."

With the President calling for a change in the law, the Interior department, never happy with the prospect of enforcing the act, sounded relieved. Carter's statements, said Leo Krulitz, Interior solicitor, "are not inconsistent with our view here." If evidence garnered from hearings on the proposed regulations suggest changes in the law, he said, "I don't think we'd hesitate to recommend those changes to Congress."

Later, Interior Secretary Andrus tried to clarify his department's position. He said that although some amendments to the 1902 measure might be needed, "the law doesn't need that much rewriting."

Andrus said he opposed a one-year

moratorium on enforcement, which was suggested to President Carter by several western senators at a recent White House meeting, and expressed support for the general proposition of returning the land to family farmers.

For the present, forces both on Capitol Hill and in the administration seem content to wait until the returns from the hearings are in before lowering the boom on the 1902 law.

*Ken Coughlin is assistant editor of Rural America (1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, subscription \$10/year) where an earlier version of this article appeared.*

Sam Silver



*When the Interior department convened public hearings in Sacramento, they were met with a ring of pickets, bused in by the California Farm Bureau, decrying what they saw as government interference in their rights to private ownership.*

## Californians testify on land regulations

**By Sam Silver**  
SACRAMENTO, CALIF.—Interior department solicitor Leon Krulitz came here Nov. 7 and 8 to preside over a set of public hearings that may help determine the future of agribusiness in California. At stake were proposed regulations from the Interior department that would limit the size and ownership of farms receiving federally subsidized water, issued in accordance with the 1902 Reclamation Act. (See accompanying story.)

California is the state most directly affected by the law and proposed regulations, with up to 1.8 million acres irrigated by federally subsidized water. It is also the site of some of the most flagrant violations of the 1902 law.

When Krulitz called the hearing to order at 9:00 a.m., Monday, Nov. 7, the Sacramento Convention Center was ringed by a legion of pickets organized by the California Farm Bureau and bused to Sacramento in 13 Greyhound buses from Hanford, in the heart of the Westlands Water District.

Not surprisingly, the solicitor discovered that nobody currently owning excess federally irrigated land wanted to give it up for distribution by lottery—as the regulations propose—to those seeking land. The biggest shock, however, was what appeared to be an about face by the State of California.

Richard Rominger, California's Secretary of Food and Agriculture and a member of Gov. Jerry Brown's cabinet, told the hearing, "We do not believe 160 acres is a magic number... The concept

of limiting the farm family to lineal descendants is much too restrictive... The use of a lottery is unnecessary to achieve the goal of promoting family farms."

Krulitz responded to Rominger's statement at a press conference the next day, expressing surprise at the state's position, "given the fact that early in the year the state's proposal for a cooperative agreement set out restrictions on excess land sales in Westlands beyond the proposed regulations in a number of instances."

Krulitz was referring to an agreement between California and the federal government, published in October 1976, regulating sales in the Westlands district, which contained provisions very similar to the proposed federal regulations.

The state's opposition to the federal regulations apparently stems from the fact that the provisions would apply to all federally subsidized irrigation in 17 western states and not just to the Westlands district. The would include the Sacramento Delta region and the Central and Imperial valleys in California—districts less publicly tainted with the aura of conglomerate agribusiness than the Westlands and containing many more voters.

Farmers testifying against the regulations told the solicitor that 640 acres was a more logical limit to land ownership; some even called for the family farm definition to be as high as 1,200 acres.

Angus Wright of the Environmental Studies department of Sacramento College testified in favor of the regulations, saying, "It is a small percentage of producers growing relatively low value crops

under heavy federal water subsidy who will be most significantly affected."

Don Villarejo, speaking for the California Agrarian Action Project, painted a picture of greed taking over California farming: "In 1964 there were 4,000 farmers growing canning tomatoes on an average size farm of 45 acres in the Central Valley. By 1972 there were only 600 farmers and the average size of each farmer's holdings rose to 10 times the former figure."

David Nesmith of National Land for People said, "The rights of private property have nothing to do with reclamation law. No one is required to use subsidized federal water."

Cliff Wilcox, a farmer-environmentalist, however, warned of adverse effects of the law. Dividing a 640-acre farm into four 160-acre sections would mean that 12 acres of farmland would be lost to concrete because it is against the law to land-lock farms, he said.

Frank Bennett added to the confusion by citing differences in crops. "One acre of strawberries will make you \$13,000, the same as 100 acres of barley. With strawberries you need a pair of gloves and a basket; with barley you need tractors and harvestors."

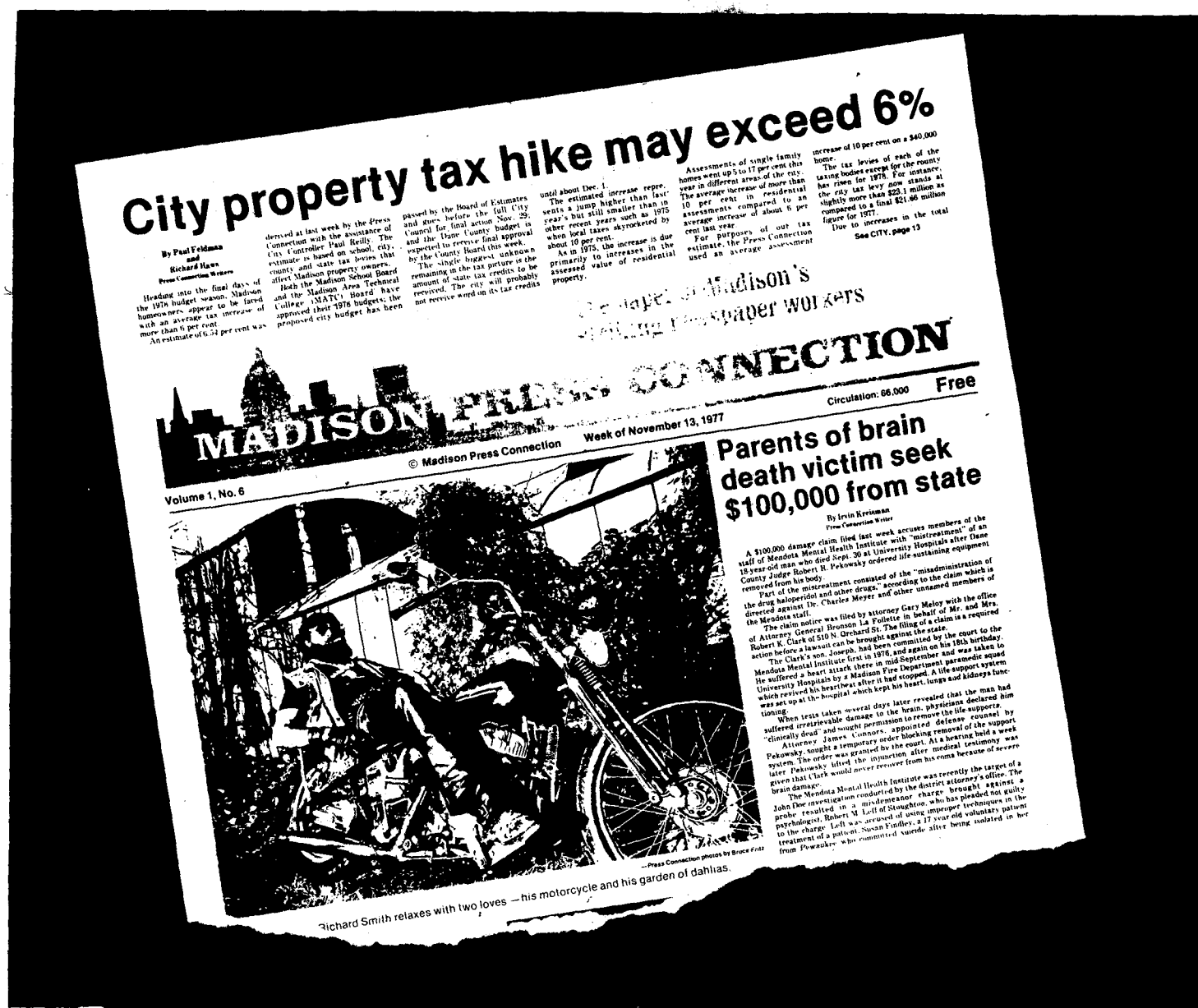
Clearly, Krulitz and Andrus will have no easy job in sifting through the testimony presented at Sacramento, and it remains to be seen if the rules as they will be published next March (at the earliest) will actually change the character of western agribusiness.

*Sam Silver is a free-lance writer in Berkeley.*



## LABOR

# Strikers publish own newspaper



**M**ADISON, WIS.—The striking workers of Madison's two daily newspapers are proud of the *Madison Press Connection*. It is a weekly newspaper published and controlled by the striking workers.

The story of the *Madison Press Connection* began Oct. 1 when over half the staff of the *Capital Times* and the *Wisconsin State Journal* walked off their jobs because of unfair labor practices by management. The strike was called by the Wisconsin State Journal Editorial Association, an independent union, and the International Typographer Union. The remaining three unions at the two newspapers—the newspaper Guild, the Pressman's union and the Mailers' union—joined the picket line.

During the past year the unions have worked together closely; in April they formed a unity committee with representatives from the five unions. This unity has been particularly important in the face of

a complicated corporate structure.

Three separate employers are involved. The *Capital Times*, an evening paper with a longstanding liberal tradition, is owned by the Capital Times Co. The *Wisconsin State Journal*, a morning paper with a circulation approaching 80,000 (twice that of the *Times*), is owned by Lee Enterprises, an Iowa-based news media conglomerate that owns 15 newspapers in seven midwestern states, as well as several radio and TV stations.

Both papers own equal shares in Madison Newspapers, Inc. MNI, established in 1948 as a money-saving device, is responsible for the production and distribution of the two papers. Lee Enterprises, however, seems to be increasingly dominant in MNI. MNI's general manager is the son of a recent Lee president, and MNI's personnel director, technical services manager and business office manager are all former Lee employees.

Labor relations at MNI and the two papers have always been "tough but rea-

sonable," according to a pre-strike union publication. But this past year has been different; seven unfair labor charges have been filed with the NLRB by three of the five unions.

The incident that made the situation at Madison Newspapers intolerable occurred this past spring when MNI introduced new technology in the plant. Over half of the 56 printers were laid off without regard for seniority. Some were let go after 30 years with the company. The remaining printers had their monthly wages cut by one-third. This prompted the formation of the unity committee.

## Community support.

Prior to the strike, the five unions spent much effort trying to communicate their situation to the community so that when they walked off their jobs, they did so with much community support.

A boycott of the *Capital Times* and the *Wisconsin State Journal* was immediately organized. Over 15 state and local

unions supported the boycott. The state AFL-CIO urged its over 50,000 members to stop buying the two papers, and the Madison City Council directed the city to withhold all advertising from the two papers, under legal guidelines. A similar resolution is being introduced in the state legislature, which would direct the state not to do business with any firm whose employees are on strike.

Lee Enterprises, which is known for union-busting tactics, has taken measures to ensure publication of the two papers. Employees from other Lee papers have reportedly been brought in to work at both the *Wisconsin State Journal* and *Capital Times*. Some local people have also been hired.

Negotiations have moved slowly. Management has said they will not rehire all striking employees, and have already hired a number of replacements. It looks to be a long strike.

Despite this impasse there is "more strength" among the workers as the strike progresses, according to Chuck Arnold, chairman of the unity committee. Much of it comes from the excitement of publishing an alternative weekly. The *Madison Press Connection* provides an alternative for advertisers, as well as offers a source of local news that might otherwise be missing during the strike.

## No bosses.

But what the striking workers are most proud of is its internal organization; there are no bosses.

Dave Wagner, a Guild member, wrote in a recent *Press Connection* editorial: "We're having fun and we're getting the news out without anyone having to behave like a boss or tug on a forelock like an employee."

The paper is published by the unity committee. Each group of workers—mailers, district managers, printers, pressmen, reporters and editors—decide amongst themselves how they can best utilize their time and (limited) supplies. Every Wednesday night, representatives from each union meet to discuss the next Sunday's publication. Knowledge and skills are shared among the professionals and craftspeople. "I never had involved myself in the physics of newspapers before," says Ron McCrea who worked as news editor at the *Capital Times*, "how much a bundle of newspapers weigh, or how many bundles will fit in a delivery truck."

A printing press and typesetting equipment are rented every week so that the entire production process is taken care of by the *Press Connection* staff. The paper pays for itself through ad revenues, and has a circulation of 64,500 (an increase of over 14,00 since the beginning of the strike.) Sixteen to 20 pages in length, its articles cover the gamut from sports and theater reviews to local and state politics.

Lasting friendships have developed between people who hadn't even known that they worked in the same plant. Bill Christofferson, who worked as the political-capitol reporter at the *Wisconsin State Journal*, says that "the company had tried to instill a feeling of being better than the *Capital Times*," but now there is a "whole lot of mutual respect that wasn't there before because of management." Christofferson is also quick to point out that in every issue of the *Press Connection* there has been at least one article written jointly by a reporter from the *Capital Times* and a reporter from the *Wisconsin State Journal*.

Ron McCrea of the Guild, in the second issue of the *Press Connection*, summed up the union's view of the strike: "The stake for us is simply the restoration of a lawful balance which has been suddenly upset by corporate gangsterism. For Madison, there are even larger stakes: the retention of a decent living standard for its citizens, and local control of its newspapers."

Alex Kotlowitz is a free-lance writer in Madison.

# Iron range workers reject settlement

**D**ULUTH, MINN.—United Steelworkers of America (USWA) union negotiators from the iron ranges of northern Minnesota and upper Michigan have rejected an industry offer that would have given most of the workers an incentive pay plan below that of other USWA production employees.

The plan was rejected Nov. 7 when 80 representatives of the more than 18,000 USWA miners on strike met here to review a proposal brought to Minnesota by Steelworker president Lloyd McBride and his staff. McBride had worked out the incentive plan with industry representative Bruce Johnston of U.S. Steel's Pittsburgh office.

The proposal called for production-type workers on the iron ranges, roughly 75 percent of the workforce, to get, in November 1979, two-thirds of the bonus incentive now paid steel mill and manufacturing employees.

The agreement also called for the immediate resumption of bargaining and

for the industry to dismiss all lawsuits against the Steelworker union connected to the strike. (U.S. District Judge Daniel Snyder in Pittsburgh is currently considering a lawsuit against the union for \$10 million per week in damages from the strike, which began Aug. 1.)

McBride told rank and file representatives that he supported the incentive pay compromise because it would bring an end to the strike, which has completely shut down domestic iron and taconite mining. He said he thought the proposal was the industry's last offer before it begins importing foreign ore to keep the mills operating through the winter.

McBride also said the industry had no intention of meeting the union demand for full incentive pay and predicted it would be a long strike if the miners rejected the top level pact. But McBride did say he would stick with strikers if they rejected the proposal on a local basis.

The miners considered the proposal for less than two days, and sent it back to Pittsburgh with top Steelworker aide Sam

Namens.

District 33 director Linus Wampler of Duluth said the plan was rejected because it did not cover enough workers and because it would not take effect for two years. He said strikers will stay off the job until they get a better offer from the industry.

McBride had earlier presented the proposal to negotiators who had gathered 60 miles north of here Sunday in Virginia, in the heart of Minnesota's Iron Range, where more than 300 steelworkers, their families and supporters marched through the streets Sunday night carrying strike banners behind a truck blaring union songs. The march was a reenactment of a significant miners' march in 1916.

The march was followed by a 90-minute, emotional rally attended by more than 1,500. The theme of the rally was clearly union solidarity and determination to get what workers are demanding from the mining companies.

Phil Glende is radio and TV reporter in Duluth.



## SENIOR CITIZENS

# Gray Panthers focus on health

By Ruth Dear  
Over 300 people, one-fourth of them young people, gathered in Chevy Chase, Md., Oct. 27-30 for the second national convention of Gray Panthers.

"We will come out of this convention with renewed bodies and spirits, marching, singing and raising hell," National Convenor Maggie Kuhn told the opening session.

Later on the first day Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.) made an unexpected appearance to talk about his mandatory retirement act. He also said that civil rights and anti-sexist legislation had eliminated discrimination in these areas. There were noticeable gasps from the audience and Dr. Paul Nathanson of the National Senior Citizens Law Center replied that Congress could pass any number of laws but unless it also appropriated funds for enforcement and informed people of their rights, legislation was meaningless.

The second day was devoted to health care, a major focus of the convention. Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Cal.) described his bill for a no-fee national health service, community based and tax supported, to be made available to all, and said that he will reintroduce his bill (HR-6844) to establish such a service in January. Dellums pointed out that in 1976 \$140 billion was spent on health care in the U.S., even more than was poured down "that rat hole in Virginia, the Pentagon."

"Very few of my colleagues will turn down socialized medicine at Walter Reed or Bethesda or attendance by the House physician," he added. It is the poor and oppressed who are being denied health care.

Dr. Quentin Young of Chicago's Cook County Hospital and Dr. Bernard Winter elaborated on this theme. Karen Ignani of the Committee for National Health Insurance presented the case for the Kennedy-Corman health insurance bill, but the Gray Panthers registered overwhelming preference for the Dellums proposal.

Although health was intended as the main theme of the convention, emotionally and controversially debate on a position paper, "Economic Rights/Economic Democracy," nearly stole the show.

A commitment to social change has always been a part of Gray Panther programs and philosophy. Maggie Kuhn said in her keynote speech: "Gray Panthers must be part of the action involved in radical social change," and the next day Michael Harrington spoke on "Economic and Social Justice." However, the attempt to formulate a specific program for social change aroused intense feelings. There was a plea from a Farmer-Laborite from Minnesota to go more slowly; some newly recruited people were crying as they tried to decide whether they had made too radical a commitment.

In the end, the draft program was not officially adopted. It is to be sent to local networks for discussion—partly because of the intense reaction and partly because socialist participants saw it as inadequate.

In other resolutions the convention urged that taxation be based on high income rather than property, that profit-making organizations be excluded from the delivery of health care, and that Medicare-Medicaid provide home services for the chronically ill. A real first was a resolution to make all pensions subject to cost-of-living increases. Resolutions in support of the ERA, a military embargo on South Africa, gun control and an end to the proliferation of nuclear power plants also carried. A national task force on outreach to minorities was established.

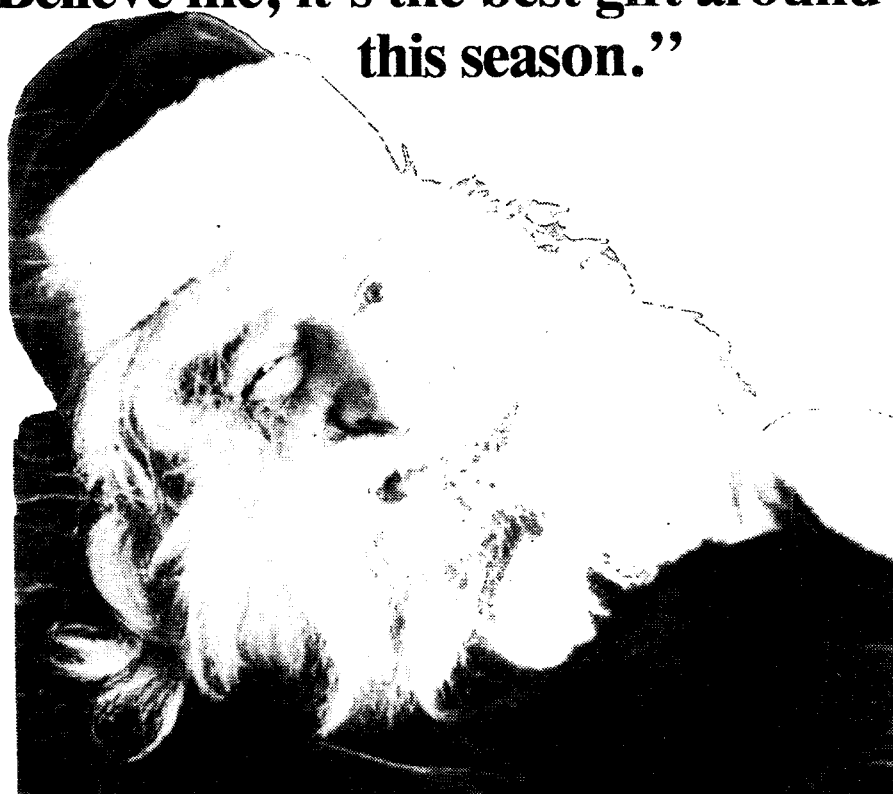
On Monday, Oct. 31, the day after the convention, about 50 Gray Panthers picketed outside the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in support of the bill for a government office of consumer representation.

*Ruth Dear is co-convenor of the Chicago Gray Panthers and attended their national convention.*



Gray Panther leader Maggie Kuhn.

**"When stagnation hit the reindeer industry where else could I turn? Sure, I'm a socialist and In These Times makes sense to me. It gives me the kind of broad news coverage I need. Give a holiday gift subscription to your friends now. Believe me, it's the best gift around this season."**



## ENERGY

## Dakota rejects grant

By Nellie Scott  
PIERRE, S.D.—A unique provision of South Dakota law has enabled 11 state legislators here to scuttle a \$1 million federal grant to the South Dakota Public Utilities Commission.

South Dakota is one of only two states in the nation that require the state legislature to "appropriate" a federal grant before it can be spent. So, when the utilities commission, which regulates private utility companies in the state, won a competitive federal grant to investigate new ways to structure gas and electric utility rates, they had to receive legislative approval.

Rate restructuring is seen as a means of energy conservation, and the South Dakota grant was one of a number of grants awarded. The grant, which came from the Federal Energy Administration, also included funds to increase the staff of the small South Dakota commission by 40 percent, giving it the resources to carry out the experimental project.

Utility commissioners anticipated no special problems getting approval from the state Appropriations committee. The four private utilities that the rate design experiments would involve had cooperated with the commission in developing the proposal, and had promised future cooperation. And the federal government was providing 100 percent of the money.

The commissioners got the first inkling of a problem at a meeting shortly after the grant was awarded. Commissioners

responded to a list of 40 questions from Montana-Dakota Utilities, a company that does about 5 percent of its business in South Dakota, but representatives from another utility, Black Hills Power and Light, left the meeting dissatisfied.

Black Hills took its complaints to the newest of the three utility commissioners, a young Republican the utilities consider their "friend in court." After consultation with Black Hills, the commissioner wrote to the Appropriations committee recommending turning back the \$1 million grant.

That was enough to doom the grant when the committee met on Nov. 14. Despite the best efforts of the remaining utility commissioners to gain Republican support, the committee split along party lines, with the six Democrats losing to the 11 Republicans, who voted down the appropriation.

One disgusted state official commented that the Appropriations committee considers itself "a committee to balance the federal budget," and takes pride in turning back federal funds regardless of their purpose.

Although the full legislature could reverse the decision of the Appropriations committee when it convenes in January, concerned people hold out little hope. Democrats in the state legislature are outnumbered by more than two-to-one.

*Nellie Scott covers energy and related matters for IN THESE TIMES.*

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# Random Samples



Rep. John Conyers, second from left, hosted a congressional briefing on the Rosenberg case Oct. 19. Other participants included (from left) Roger Shattuck, Robert Meeropol, Vern Countryman and Marshal Perlin.

## Issues in Rosenberg case heard on Capitol Hill

For the first time since 1951, when Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell were convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage, their case has broken through the "silence on the Hill" and obtained a forum in the Congress.

On Oct. 19 Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich) hosted a Congressional Briefing in the Rayburn House Office Building to discuss the conduct of federal judge Irving R. Kaufman in the Rosenberg case. Among the panel were Professor Vern Countryman of Harvard Law School,

Robert Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, attorney Marshal Perlin of the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (NCRRC), and John Shattuck, Washington office director of the ACLU.

Since June 1976, when the FBI released some documents relating to the Rosenberg case, serious questions have risen concerning Judge Kaufman's conduct during and after the Rosenberg trial at which he presided.

Countryman described three types of

judicial improprieties: out of court contacts between the judge, the FBI and the prosecutors, continuing interference in the case after it left his jurisdiction, and attempts to stifle criticism of the case.

Countryman added that "the picture may not be as bad as the FBI papers indicated. On the other hand, if Kaufman and those he is reported as talking to were interrogated under oath, it might be worse." He called for a congressional investigation to determine whether impeachable offenses had been committed by the

judge and to determine whether there needed to be more legislative standards of judicial conduct than presently exist.

Countryman was joined in his call for a congressional investigation by more than 100 law professors from around the country who signed a letter to the House and Senate Judiciary committees. Shattuck added that the ACLU had called for a similar investigation in March.

Marshal Perlin, who represented the sons of the Rosenbergs in the Freedom of Information suit that led to the release of the FBI documents, said: "They have one million, one hundred thousand pages on this case, but we've obtained so far only 30,000 pages of documents from the CIA, FBI and other agencies. If we had one-tenth of the documents at the time of trial, we would have been able to establish that each and every one of the prosecution witnesses was lying, and a goodly percent of them were lying with the knowledge of the prosecution."

(Ruth Pinkson, Washington)

## Undocumented workers

On Oct. 3 some 200 workers, many of them without immigration papers, stopped work at Goldmar Inc.'s Arrowhead Ranches near Phoenix and presented a list of demands to the management of the citrus ranch. (ITT, Oct. 19). On Nov. 1 Arthur Martori of Goldmar, a joint enterprise of the Goldwater and Martori families, agreed to most of the demands in negotiations with the Maricopa County Organizing Project (M-COP) and a committee of ten workers.

"The Goldmar work stoppage was the first time in U.S. labor history that undocumented workers organized for better pay and conditions. The courageous workers at Arrowhead have succeeded in winning their demands, and this has excellent implications for the rights and future of undocumented workers anywhere," said Jesus Romo, M-COP director.

(Tom Barry, El Mirage, Ariz.)

## Indians oppose copper leaching

By Stephen Most  
Pacific News Service

CERRILLOS, N.M.—A mineral-rich hillside—protected by local Indian tribes for 1,000 years and blasted to smithereens by a mining company last January—is the focal point of a heated controversy here over an experiment in a new copper-mining technique called on-site leach mining.

The controversy pits citizens of the town of Cerrillos and residents of six nearby Indian pueblos, who charge that the new technique will destroy the area's water supply, against the Los Angeles-based Occidental Minerals (Oxymin), whose executives argue that leach mining is a relatively clean, inexpensive method of gaining access to mineral deposits buried too deeply under the earth's surface to be mined by conventional methods.

Oxymin wants to prove the value of leach mining through a pilot project on a low-grade copper deposit in this, the oldest mining region of North America. As a preliminary step last January the mining company blasted a local hillside into a heap of fragmented rock, extending some 100 feet beneath the ground.

The company now wants to pour a solution of water and sulfuric acid into the rubble heap. The acid will leach copper from the rock, filtering it into a pipe beneath the blasted area. The mineral and acid solution—called leachate—will be pumped to the surface through the pipe.

According to a recent study by the Rocky Mountain Center on the Environment, a host of mining companies stand ready to adopt the technique on a variety of hard-to-reach mineral deposits in New Mexico and other mining regions across the country if projects like that at Cerrillos prove successful.

Union Carbide, for example, already is making plans to leach mine uranium several hundred feet beneath the ground

near the San Felipe Indian Reservation, only 20 miles from Cerrillos.

"If there's a best of all possible worlds in the mining business," explains industrial hydrologist Dr. William M. Turner, "it's leaching. The economic advantages are very attractive." Leach mining, Turner says, eliminates the need for shafts, waste dumps, smelts, tailings disposal, excavation and much labor.

Because of the low capital and labor costs, Oxymin reportedly will require no more than 20 employees to extract 18 tons of copper a day from its planned mining operation here.

If the Indians and concerned residents of Cerrillos have their way, however, Oxymin's pilot mine will never become operative. Despite the long history of mining here, the populace is almost unanimously opposed to the copper leaching project.

"We're not against mining copper," says Hugh Hazelrigg of the Concerned Citizens of Cerrillos, "but we are against anybody experimenting with our water table."

Residents are worried that leachate will seep through the broken rock into the town's wells. "The area is so fractured that the acid could go all kinds of ways," charges Hobart Durham, a chemist in Santa Fe, about 30 miles north of Cerrillos. "Sulfuric acid is a very good solvent. It dissolves lots of things—skin and everything."

Durham also is concerned that the blasting of the copper deposit could damage the entire Santa Fe water basin, whose northern edge lies beneath Cerrillos.

Oxymin's planned leaching operation, notes Deidre Hazelrigg, president of the CCC, would cover 40 to 60 acres and go 250 feet deep. That, she says, would require the "largest non-nuclear explosion in history" to fragment the rock.

Oxymin president Paul A. Bailly has acknowledged that its plans include blasting on a scale 10 times larger than

the one-million cubic foot explosion last January.

Although hesitant to discuss specifics, Oxymin officials argue that similar leach mining techniques already have been employed successfully for the commercial mining of uranium in Texas, potash in Utah and sulfur in Louisiana and Utah. The process, they say, was first developed some 50 years ago for the salt mining business.

While the CCC concentrates its opposition on the effect on the quality of the area's water, local Indian tribes are objecting to the quantity of water copper leaching will require.

"If Oxymin uses 500-acre/feet of water each year (as is planned), there will not be enough water for farming," says Ernest Lovato, executive director of tribal affairs for the Santo Domingo pueblo.

Lovato points out that "there has been a heavy Indian population here for many thousands of years. The mineral rights, the surface rights, everything falls under Indian title."

Last year, the Santo Domingo pueblo joined the citizens of Cerrillos in demanding that the state monitor and control the Oxymin project. At their urging, Gov. Jerry Apodaca appointed a task force of state officials to study the leach mining plans. Apodaca declared that Oxymin should not begin its operations until all questions regarding the project's safety were answered.

The task force allowed the test blast to take place last January, arguing that "several technical questions can't be answered without it."

In mid-September the New Mexico Environmental Improvement Agency ruled against Oxymin's bid to proceed with its pilot project. Oxymin, however, plans to appeal the decision, and the fate of the project remains up in the air.

Stephen Most is a California free-lance journalist and playwright.

## There all the time

Sir George Solti was scheduled to conduct three concerts at Chicago's Orchestra Hall Thursday, Friday and Saturday, Oct. 27-29. The program was Mahler's Eighth Symphony, which requires a full symphony orchestra plus a chorus and a children's choir—there were almost as many singers and musicians on the expanded stage as there were listeners in the packed house.

Thursday's concert was a big hit and Friday's was sold out, with people standing outside before the performance waving handfuls of big bills and bidding "anything you want" for a ticket.

Saturday also sold out, but before the concert Sir George stumbled getting out of a hotel elevator and wrenched his back. The concert was cancelled. As if that were not enough, the full ensemble was due in New York on Monday.

It was only at this point of desperation that someone thought to ask Margaret Hillis, renowned director of the Chicago Symphony Chorus, who was "up on the score," if she would take over for the ailing maestro in New York.

The Carnegie Hall audience rose to its feet at the end of her performance and gave her a 10-minute ovation. The *New York Times* carries a page three story headlined "Woman Substitutes for Solti."

By the time the performers were back at home there was editorial comment on the fact that it took a catastrophe to call attention to the existence of an unused talent like Hillis'.

Meanwhile, those who had lost out on the Saturday concert were asking why the great brains hadn't thought of her a day earlier. Now they are asking whether Hillis will be asked to conduct again—with or without an emergency. (J.S., Chicago)



# IN THE WORLD

## ISRAEL

# Strikes greet Likud policies

By David Mandel

**T**EL AVIV—A day after the Israeli government announced drastic changes in the country's economic policy in late October, a television news report concluded with the following announcements: "A convention of Israeli magicians took place today. The finance minister was not present."

Nevertheless, Simha Ehrlich, an admirer of Professor Milton Friedman and architect of the new measures, maintains that liberalization of foreign currency controls will put new life into the country's sagging economy by attracting outside investors and inducing Israelis to put their hoarded dollars, pounds, marks and francs into circulation.

Hit by five years of stagnation with 30-40 percent inflation and falling real wages, many Israelis were initially willing to give the new policy a chance. After all, most of the hardship came during Labor's rule; economic dissatisfaction was a major cause of that party's downfall and the rightist Likud's rise to power earlier this year (ET, June 1). The public made its ritual rush to supermarkets and stores selling imported goods, as it has learned to do every time it is clear that prices are about to rise.

### Windfall for some.

Economic analysts gave the policy mixed reviews, according to their political loyalties. Predictions of its effect on export and import varied tremendously.

The 50 percent devaluation should cut imports, but some tariffs were also removed, limiting its effect. It should encourage exports, but all export premiums, which in the past gave exporters extra local currency for their dollar earnings, were abolished. Moreover, if wages and other price components for exporters rise quickly, their new advantage will be wiped out. Exporters are already demanding further devaluation to keep ahead of costs.

It is clear that despite the rhetoric about the lira's "free float," the government can still effectively set the exchange rate: It is by far the largest buyer, seller and distributor of foreign currency.

Holders of foreign currency and inventories of imported goods gained a windfall. Sixty million dollars were cashed in at banks in the first week—much of it in relatively small quantities, obviously taken out of mattresses and floor-boards. The sellers then rushed to buy apartments and stocks and bonds before prices rose.

It remains to be seen, however, whether the much larger quantities of dollars smuggled abroad in the past will begin to come home, to be productively invested. Many observers are doubtful: Israel's economy is still basically unsound, highly dependent on injections of foreign aid—\$2.5 billion a year lately from the U.S.

After the initial selling spree, the lira's value is likely to continue to fall. With 35 percent of Israel's GNP going to military spending and the continuing likelihood of war, investment "confidence" will remain low. Also, Israel is committed by an agreement with the European Economic Community to eliminate gradually its import barriers. For a country lacking many natural or other advantages, and industrially less developed than Europe, this is likely to have a long range negative effect on Israel's balance of trade, and to raise the specter of mass unemployment, as Israeli manufacturing loses its competitive ability.

### "Compensation row."

The only way to prevent this, the government believes, is to lower labor costs significantly. Behind all the "free trade" muddle, this is perhaps the government's major aim. High officials openly warn that the new program will succeed only



Postal workers demonstrating outside Tel Aviv. Insert: Tel Aviv rally.

Photos by David Mandel

## And the Palestinian-Israeli war goes on

Despite the labor unrest and debate over the new economic policy, the Israeli-Palestinian war continues, in its many forms and on different fronts.

On Nov. 6 and 8, Palestinians fired bazookas from across the Lebanese border into the northern Israeli town of Nahariya. Three citizens were killed, a number of others injured. The PLO claimed that the shooting was done by only "rejection front" elements, who want to sabotage any possible peace effort by dragging Israel back into active involvement in Lebanon, after a cease-fire was reached last month.

if wage demands are resisted. They promise that prosperity will eventually come after "socialism" is rooted out of the marketplace, but more effective in convincing workers to accept wage cuts may be the threat of unemployment.

Within a few days of the bombshell, thousands of Israeli workers understood very clearly that they stand to lose from the new policy. A cost-of-living escalator agreed upon by the government and the Histadrut labor federation two years ago, and applied almost universally throughout the private sector as well, provides wage hikes to cover only 70 percent of the price index's rise; and it trails six months behind price increases. The Likud has announced that subsidies intended to keep basic commodity prices low will be gradually abolished, and the government budget will be cut in other areas too.

Hundreds of angry shop floor meetings were called to discuss the situation. Several local labor councils in the south took the lead and declared one-day general strikes. Labor party spokespeople were quick to denounce the attack on wage-earners, and leftist parties rushed to print and distribute thousands of leaflets explaining the policy's meaning and calling for militant protest.

Unlike last summer when the new government announced its first wave of price increases, a militant response did materialize this time. The Histadrut demanded compensation for workers in January, three months instead of six after the Nov. 1 cost-of-living raise.

Pressure from below had the unprecedented effect of forcing the Histadrut to up its demand: "Compensation now" became the new slogan. Between Nov. 1

But Israel, claiming that no one could engage in such firing without PLO, and even Syrian acquiescence, initiated a massive airborne retaliation raid Nov. 9. Planes bombed a number of villages that Israel claimed were serving as PLO camps. Apparently, over 100 people were killed—civilians, say the Lebanese. The cease-fire is in danger.

Inside Israel, an Arab was shot to death and a dozen others injured in Majdal Krum, a Galilee village, on Nov. 8. Bulldozers arrived to destroy a home built there without a proper permit, and a crowd resisted.

and 7, hardly a city in Israel did not experience a large, militant strike and demonstration. The largest of all was in Tel Aviv, where 25,000 workers filled the municipality square and then marched towards the treasury office. Many continued past the official end point, blocking traffic and forcing minor confrontations with the police. In Jerusalem, the demonstration of 10,000 was notable for its Jewish-Arab character. The workers of occupied East Jerusalem joined such a united struggle for the first time.

Work interruptions were halted in time for the Histadrut's quadrennial convention, Nov. 7-9. Inside the walls, the Likud minority did its best to disrupt the anti-government haranguing. For the first time in decades, the convention was marked by constant shouting matches and even fistfights. But following Labor's overall show of strength, quiet negotiations will likely get underway soon, and agreement will probably be reached for partial compensation.

### Histadrut's two roles.

The government did its best to portray the uproar as the result of Labor's partisan politics. To a large extent, this is true. Until this year, the Labor party controlled both the government and the Histadrut. There were arguments and negotiations between the two bodies over wage agreements and cost-of-living compensation; but they always had an air of being partly for show, with Likud worker activists employing populist demagoguery to attack Labor from the left.

But such a massive turnout of angry workers could not have been merely manipulated, as the Likud accused. Many

Arabs in this and other towns have frequently complained that the Interior Ministry discriminates against them in many areas, including the granting of building permits and expansion of residentially-zoned space. Why, they also ask, are shots never fired at even the most militant Jewish demonstrators, but several times in the last few years at Arabs?

Several weeks ago, the same town was also up in arms over the arrest of a dozen of its citizens, supposedly for singing seditious songs at a wedding. They all happened to be members of the Communist party.

—David Mandel

thousands who came to the Tel Aviv rally voted for the right in May. Some are beginning to have second thoughts, but neither have they forgotten the past. They came out now to protest, but many were also asking: where was the Labor party before May 17? There was an unusual amount of intense discussion among the crowd.

The Histadrut's hesitation to lead the struggle dates back to pre-state times. The Histadrut is not only a labor union. It also owns hundreds of major enterprises. It is the country's second-largest employer, after the government. Much of its capital is invested jointly with state and private funds, and its enterprises are generally run along strict profit-oriented lines, hardly distinguishable from other ones. This contradiction remains, even after Labor's eviction from state power.

The Histadrut's financial empire could become a weapon in the hands of the workers, if they take control from today's high level managers, who have more in common with the private and government counterparts. Whether this is a realistic long-range goal, or whether the Histadrut is an inexorable tool of Israeli capitalism, is a subject of serious debate within the country's left groups.

In either case, for a strategy of struggle within or from outside the Histadrut, or some of both, the grass roots initiative demonstrated by local workers' committees in early November was an encouraging sign of what might develop in the future, especially if the dark shadow of the national conflict and the threat of war can be removed from the scene.

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## INTERNATIONAL LABOR

## ILO shaken by American departure

By Bruce Vandervort

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND—The “smart money” here said that the Americans would never do it, that Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski and *Business Week* would convince the AFL-CIO’s George Meany and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce’s Charlie Smith to back off. A British professional staffer at the International Labor Organization summed up the prevailing sentiment in Geneva on the eve of the U.S. pull-out: “I can’t imagine the Yanks leaving now; they’ve had things pretty much their way around here lately.” The general feeling was that the ILO had bent over backwards to meet the two essential demands posed in the Kissinger letter of November 1975 for a clear return to the ILO’s unique tripartite (labor, government, business) decision-making system and a “de-politicization” of the organization’s activities.

The first reaction to the bad news from Washington was one of surprise. Then as the shock began to wear off, each of the constituencies affected by the American decision began to assess the damage to its own interests.

**Sharp cutback.**

At the ILO itself, talk in the corridors belies official attempts to take a serene view of the situation. Staff morale had begun to sag in 1976, when the ILO Governing Body ordered personnel cuts to meet the threat of an American walk-out and subsequent loss of 25 percent of the organization’s budget. Around 70 of the ILO’s 1,600-odd employees in Geneva are already slated for the axe, and another 450 may go soon if new funds are not forthcoming. As well, some programs and projects will have to be trimmed back or dropped altogether; competition has begun to see which ILO branches have the in-house political clout to survive.

Employees here are generally dubious of the official line, put out again last week by ILO Director-General Francis Blanchard, that the financial loss can be made up through voluntary contributions from member states. Some Western European and socialist governments may increase their support, but not to the extent required. Nor can rumors that the Arabs are prepared to make up the difference be counted upon; so far, Venezuela is the only OPEC country to come forward with ready cash.

One has to conclude that the American withdrawal means a sharp cutback in ILO operations, serious retrenchment in employment at the organization’s Geneva headquarters and further strain on the already tight Geneva job market, as sacked ILO employees hit the streets looking for work.

The sizeable American community here, which generally opposed the pull-out, expects to feel the pinch as well. The “6-month rule” already constitutes a formidable barrier for American nationals seeking UN jobs: U.S. law forbids American citizens from working for the UN for more than six months without a full security clearance; this can take as long as six months for the FBI to complete. Some UN agencies have been reluctant to hire Americans, who might have to be replaced at short notice if denied a clean bill of health by their government. U.S. withdrawal from the ILO, taken here as a warning to the whole UN system, is not likely to make Americans more popular as job-seekers at the UN in Geneva.

The Swiss have their own reasons for being unhappy with the American move. Geneva authorities see any reduction in UN activity here as a threat to the local economy. Well-paid UN employees spend a lot of money on the shores of Lac Lemman. Also, every UN worker pays a monthly “staff assessment,” which is then turned over to the Swiss government as compensation of extra-territorial rights and the use of Swiss facilities. In October 1977, lower-level UN professionals could expect to be assessed some 16 percent of



**Most observers believe that George Meany’s real reason for wanting out of the ILO is his obsessive anti-Communism. Meany wanted socialist states expelled that didn’t adopt U.S. practices.**

their gross income per month for this purpose. Besides, the U.S. announcement came at a time when the Swiss had already begun to worry about a decline of UN presence in Geneva. Some smaller UN agencies have just been transferred from the city to Vienna, prompting Swiss newspapers to question the impartiality of UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

**U.S. biggest loser.**

The biggest loser of all, however, is likely to be the American trade union movement. Most observers here are aware that the main thrust for withdrawal came from the AFL-CIO leadership, principally George Meany. Whereas Ray Marshall and Juanita Kreps, the two major administration supporters of the pull-out are largely unknown outside the U.S.,

Meany is a familiar figure here. And he is already well-known as one likely to pick up his marbles and go home if he doesn’t like the way the game is played.

In 1969, Meany yanked the AFL-CIO out of the social democratic International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) when that organization ventured a mild protest against U.S. policy in Vietnam. That action is remembered and resented by many Western trade unionists, particularly in Europe.

This is not to say, however, that some of these same trade-unionists didn’t share certain of the AFL-CIO’s criticisms of the ILO. Many European labor leaders, for example, also felt that the ILO was paying more attention to the views of the government component of its tripartite structure than to those of labor. And, privately at

least, they agreed that this process was accelerated by the presence within the ILO of certain socialist and Third World countries whose governments do not allow independent trade union action within their own borders.

Trade unionists in many developed nations have felt that the ILO has gotten so involved in Third World development work that it is beginning to slight the areas of activity for which it was set up in 1919: the setting of labor standards, protection of trade union rights, drafting of health and safety codes.

However, few labor observers here would accept that issues such as these were the real reasons for Meany’s disenchantment with the ILO. The ILO, they believe, had made serious efforts to meet the AFL-CIO’s objections. It had “de-politicized” the agenda of its annual International Labor Conference, held each June in Geneva.

**Obsessive anti-communism.**

Most believe that the source of Meany’s discontent was his obsessive anti-communism. In the end, what the AFL-CIO leadership was really asking, many observers feel, was that the ILO should expel its socialist member states unless they agree to pattern their social structures on the tripartite system George Meany believes exists in the U.S. And, many of these same observers would contend that the American labor delegation’s arrogant and aggressive behavior at the 1977 ILO International Labor Conference raises the suspicion that Meany and Co. never had any intention of reaching an accommodation, but were set on forcing a pull-out.

The man who ended up as Worker Vice-Chairman of the Conference over the objections of many socialist and Third World delegations, was the American labor representative on the ILO Governing Body, Irving Brown. The controversy over Brown’s candidacy, though obscured in the press by the flap over a proposed ILO investigation of labor conditions in the Israeli-occupied territories, now appears to have been crucial in determining subsequent events. If the AFL-CIO had wanted to provoke a confrontation with the Third World and socialist country delegations at the Conference, it could have chosen no better means than the nomination of Irving Brown.

It has long been argued in European labor circles that Brown played a key role in the split of the communist-led French General Confederation of Labor (CGT) in 1947 and was subsequently a purveyor of American funds to the gangster elements that broke an anti-Marshall Plan dockers’ strike in Marseilles. African trade unionists remember Brown as the AFL-CIO emissary in the Congo (now Zaire) in 1960 who attempted to launch a “free” union movement there. An ex-member of the CPUSA, a momentary Trotskyist, then a protégé of David Dubinsky, the ferociously anti-communist chief of the International Ladies Garment Workers’ Union, Brown is a perfect example of the kind of labor figure who has done so much to discredit American trade unionism abroad.

The American departure from the ILO has generated bad feelings that will not soon be dissipated. More serious, however, U.S. withdrawal only further isolates U.S. trade unionism from the world of labor. What with the AFL-CIO’s refusal to re-enter the ICFTU, for many years the only significant arena in which U.S. and foreign trade unionists could meet to exchange views and experiences and to undertake common endeavors was the ILO. Now that arena is closed to American labor. In the end, this enforced isolationism, largely the will of one man and his clique, and the bitter heritage it leaves, is perhaps the saddest element in this whole drama.

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## AUSTRALIA

# Uranium, jobs ignite debate in December vote

By Kathy Gordon  
and Andrew Hewlett

**S**OUTH CAULFIELD—After only two years of a three year term, Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser has hurriedly called a general election Dec. 10 before the economy gets still worse next year.

With Australia already experiencing its worst unemployment since the Great Depression, the economy is sure to be the main issue, but uranium will also figure prominently in election debates. The Fraser government has given the go-ahead to mining, but the opposition Labor party wants an indefinite moratorium until problems of weapons proliferation and waste disposal are solved.

Recent shipments of yellowcake ore from Sydney and Melbourne have been greeted by demonstrators. In Brisbane last month, 400 people were arrested at an anti-nuclear rally, including a Labor party senator.

## Big prize at stake.

Australia has a key place in global discussion regarding nuclear development. Between 20 and 25 percent of the capitalist world's uranium supplies are located in Australia. More significantly, approximately 60 to 70 percent of the uncommitted reserves are located here.

With such a prize at stake, the battle is quite fierce. On the one side are the big mining companies (most of whom are grouped in the Uranium Producers Forum), the Fraser government, the state governments of Queensland and West Australia, the Northern Territory Legislative Council and the mass media.

The Uranium Producers Forum has spent vast sums of money on a campaign of glib television and newspaper commercials. In their attempt to sway the Australian people, it has concentrated on the alleged economic benefits to Australia and Third World countries and attempted to portray anti-uranium activists as technological luddites. It consistently refuses to debate anti-uranium representatives.

The Liberal and National parties, which make up the ruling government coalition, strongly support uranium mining. Fraser has aligned himself strongly with President Carter's nuclear policies insisting that Australia has an obligation to supply uranium to the world to prevent the development of breeder reactors. In an adaptation of OPEC resource diplo-

macy, the Federal Government is hoping that Australia can contract to supply uranium to the Common Market countries in return for more open markets for Australia's primary products.

## Awe-inspiring growth.

While the pro-uranium campaign is relatively cohesive, the anti-uranium movement is extraordinarily diverse.

Its growth has been awe-inspiring. Hiroshima Day in 1976 was marked by a rally of 500. In Melbourne (a city of approximately two million) this year Hiroshima Day was commemorated by a rally of 25,000 people. A national anti-uranium moratorium on Oct. 22, with the theme "Rally for a Non-Nuclear Future," attracted over 50,000 people Australia-wide—something like one out of every 280 Australians.

While initially based on the environmental movement, it now encompasses church people, trade union activists, the Australian Labor party, virtually all left-wing political parties, the peace movement, the Aboriginal movement and the women's movement. The Australian Council of Churches has expressed its opposition to uranium mining as has the Catholic Commission on Justice and Peace. The movement has central committees but also expresses itself through a proliferation of local groups raising the issues at grassroots level.

## Union ban.

Periodically, the railways union and major branches of the longshoremen's union have banned all work connected with uranium. At the Australian Council of Trade Union (ACTU) congress in September a motion calling for an indefinite moratorium on mining was rejected. A compromise motion was passed calling for a national referendum on the question within two months; and if that be refused, a vote by members of the unions involved to determine whether they would participate in the uranium industry. Fraser immediately refused to hold a referendum but now the early election has intervened. The ACTU's next step is unclear. The Australian Labor party has recently changed its uranium policy to unqualified opposition. At the federal conference in July of this year the Labor party called for an indefinite moratorium on mining. It has warned the industry that contracts entered into under Fraser's blessing will not



Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser (above) has backed uranium mining. The opposition Labour party and anti-nuclear movement want uranium mining stopped until waste and arms problems are solved.

be recognized by future Labor governments. This puts both producers and buyers on rather shaky footing.

Most of the large uranium deposits are located in the top end of the Northern Territory, the traditional homeland of several Aboriginal tribes. Silas Roberts, Aboriginal Chairman of the Northern Lands, said earlier this year, "In my travels throughout Australia I have met many Aborigines from other parts who have lost their land and by losing their land, they have

lost part of themselves.... We in the Northern Territory seem to be the only ones who have kept our culture." These fears have been the basis of the involvement of Aboriginal groups in the anti-mining movement.

*Kathy Gordon is an American who has lived in Australia for six years. Andrew Hewlett works for the Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament.*

## CANADA

# Quebec has its first nuclear power clash

Quebec doesn't need nuclear power, but U.S. energy companies see it as a haven.

By Henry Milner

**G**ENTILLY, QUEBEC—On Oct. 22, 700 people gathered in the small town of Gentilly, some 80 miles east of Montreal. They were protesting the Quebec Hydro's plan to construct a nuclear power plant there. This was the first significant public expression of the anti-nuclear movement in Quebec and was coordinated by the Front Commun Anti-Nucleaire, a group that brought together 25 ecologically-oriented citizens groups from various

parts of Quebec including small local opposition groups in several of the six cities along the St. Lawrence River that are slated for nuclear plants.

Quebec is relatively late in entering the nuclear power club and in developing an opposition toward it. It has the water power to generate all the electrical energy it could reasonably need well into the 21st century. The strong push for the development of nuclear power comes from the financial and power monopolies in the U.S. who, faced with strong internal opposition, see Quebec as a relatively welcome haven. The large provincially-owned power monopoly, Hydro Quebec, has a deplorable record of encouraging the waste of electricity and has shown no interest in the wide environmental and local questions posed by the opponents of nuclear power. Hydro Quebec has always prided itself on its high return on investments

and resulting attractiveness to New York bankers and has always worked very closely with them.

The newly-formed opposition to nuclear power includes the new Parti Quebecois Minister of Energy, Guy Joron. Before entering the cabinet Mr. Joron published a book attacking nuclear power and Quebec's tendency to waste energy.

But he faces opposition to his views within his own cabinet. Other cabinet ministers believe that nuclear power development would make Quebec independent of Western Canada's oil and gas supplies. They are evidently not as concerned that the expansion of nuclear power would bring greater dependence upon the financial empire to the south.

In the next few months the strength of the anti-nuclear and ecological sentiment will be tested both at the level of the cabi-

net and in the population at large. The cabinet will be bringing out its White Paper on Energy in the future and the content of this paper and the content of the debate that will follow should prove decisive.

The ability of the anti-nuclear movement to gain mass recognition still remains to be seen. Although the demonstration at Gentilly received support in the form of free buses and access to publicity from certain unions in the Montreal area, the involvement of the workers movement on the whole has been rather limited. If the wider environmental questions posed by the anti-nuclear movement are to come anywhere near attaining public importance in Quebec comparable to Europe or even English-speaking North America—then Gentilly is only a bare beginning. Much remains to be done.





Sam Krieger, Chambers' Communist party sponsor, being interviewed.



Whittaker Chambers testifying

# Whittaker Chambers: self-

**I**N 1950, IN A CASE THAT LAUNCHED the senatorial campaign of then Rep. Richard M. Nixon, and that involved leading Democrats like Adlai Stevenson, Supreme Court Justices Stanley Reed and Felix Frankfurter testifying in his behalf, Alger Hiss was convicted of perjury for denying that he knew and was involved in espionage with Whittaker Chambers.

Hiss, who served 44 months in prison, has steadfastly maintained his innocence and has attempted to secure vindication. He has insisted that Chambers lied, both in his original testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (in which Chambers testified that Hiss was a Communist party member, but not a spy) and when he reversed himself, after being sued by Hiss for libel, and accused Hiss of engaging in espionage with Chambers acting as courier. At the trial Chambers testified that he received from Hiss government documents, retyped on a Woodstock typewriter that Hiss owned. Chambers produced the documents and the defense produced a typewriter on which the documents were allegedly typed and which was said to have belonged to Hiss.

Hiss' conviction hinged on the credibility of Chambers' testimony, which the typewriter allegedly corroborated.

Recently, as a result of a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) suit that Hiss filed, he has secured documents that apparently show that an investigator on Hiss' defense team was also an agent of the Justice department, and also that the Woodstock typewriter used to convict him was a forgery.

On the basis of this new evidence, Hiss has told *IN THESE TIMES*, he is planning to go into federal court in January or February 1978 to secure a writ of error *coram nobis*. The writ, based on FBI documents secured under the FOIA proceedings, will allege prosecutorial misconduct in withholding evidence of Hiss' innocence and, if granted, would lead to an expunging of the conviction.

Following is an interview with Sam Krieger, by the Radical Elders Oral History Project of Oakland, Calif. It does not speak to the typewriter or Justice department misconduct but to the character and reliability of Whittaker Chambers

himself, Krieger, a former Communist, was Chambers' sponsor when Chambers joined the Communist party in 1926, and a close friend of Chambers' during his Communist days.

A stocky young man in a shabby overcoat walked past my desk in the Public Library and studied me. Then he walked back and studied me from another angle. He did this several times. I thought: "He is the man. He is the contact with the Communist Party."

Then the first American Communist I had ever seen edged up to my desk, looked at me out of distrustful, rather glassy eyes, and asked: "Are you Chambers?"

—Whittaker Chambers, *Witness*

That man, who Chambers later said "blended easily with the stream of shabby and derelict people" that flowed in and out of the New York library he worked in, was Sam Krieger.

Little did Krieger know that day in 1925 that 23 years later, the man he would sponsor as a member of the Communist Party U.S.A. would brand one man a communist spy and send him to prison while helping to catapult another on a path to the White House. For it was Chambers who in 1948 accused Hiss of communist espionage.

Krieger, now 74, is retired and living in northern California after 30 years in trade union movements following nearly 20 years of work in the Communist party. Recalling those early years, Krieger says Chambers exaggerated his own role with the party and lied to convict Hiss.

## Chambers' charges.

Hiss was imprisoned on the basis of Chambers' charges that the two combined forces, as members of the Communist party, to steal secret state documents and turn them over to Soviet agents. Chambers' charges rested on his claims of being an important Communist party functionary in the late 1930s; he maintained that Hiss, while in the State department, had passed secret documents to him, along with his regular party dues. Hiss went to prison steadfastly denying Chambers' allegations and still says that he was framed.

Sam Krieger, who served in the Communist party at the time Chambers claimed he engaged in espionage with Hiss, adamantly contradicts Chambers' views on how the Communist party operated in the late 1930s. Krieger joined the Party—then known as the Workers party—in 1924. Because of its semi-legal status at that time, relations with its recruits had a special quality.

"It was generally understood," says Krieger, "that you took personal as well as political responsibility for any new member you sponsored."

"When you brought a new member into the party, you tried to acquaint yourself with his or her background, guided the individual at practically every turn and took a personal interest in the new member because, after all, he was now becoming a comrade in arms."

The Communist party of the 1930s, Krieger recalls, was a community of sorts. "Even though we made our livings in different ways, we still felt that we were tied together, that we had something very important in common. It wasn't solely a political commonality. We knew we had to protect each other, that we might have to engage in struggles that called for sacrifices."

Sponsoring new members did not entail going through particularly strict channels. "If no one had anything bad to say about you," explains Krieger, "or voiced no critical reason to refuse you, you were admitted without a formal vote. The party was anxious, open and seeking new members. All you really had to do was affirm belief in party principles, pay regular dues, accept party assignments and carry out the collective decisions of your party unit or branch."

## Chambers as a communist.

Chambers, under Krieger's sponsorship, joined an English-speaking branch on Manhattan's west side, near Hell's kitchen.

Krieger, who read *Witness* a few years after it was published in 1952, chuckles over Chambers' description of their first meeting in New York's 42nd Street Lib-

rary. "I have to smile at the way he described me in *Witness*," says Krieger. "At the time I was employed in the circulation department of the *Yonkers Statesman*, so I was pretty well dressed. He added the 'shabby overcoat' and 'glassy eyes' for dramatic effect."

Although Krieger found Chambers tight-lipped about his personal background, he recalls Chambers' concern over other party members' feelings about him. "I felt protective of him as his sponsor," says Krieger. "I wanted to make sure that he made a good impression on other party members and he would ask me what did so-and-so think of him. We had these discussions, as friends would have, about how he was coming across to party members."

Krieger considered Chambers a friend, but he "never really got inside the man. He was pretty close-mouthed and didn't speak much about his family or background. He said he came from a very poor household and had had difficulties with his family. They did not agree with his political views."

In addition to the personal relationship Krieger and Chambers developed in 1925 there was also party work. It was Krieger's duty as Chambers' sponsor to assist in making a party assignment. At the time Krieger was using his newspaper skills to help the party's paper. "I went with him many times to the *Daily Worker* circulation department and got him started on the job of collecting copies of the paper," says Krieger.

The *Daily Worker* was distributed by a New York news agency, but the *Worker* staff was responsible for collecting money and unsold copies from newsstands. Chambers, at Krieger's urging, coordinated collections in a large section of the Bronx. Later Chambers began writing for the *Daily Worker* and then *New Masses*.

A party factional fight in the late '20s led to a total reorganization of the party itself. Chambers, in *Witness*, claims that this reorganization brought confusion to the ranks and that he drifted away for a spell while members continued to assume he was still deeply committed and involved.

Krieger, however, remembers that Chambers started to drift away before





re the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Chambers claimed he severed ties with the Communist party because of strong political differences. In *Witness* he voiced complaint over the expulsion of Leon Trotsky. He also admitted that his reaction to the Soviet "purges" under Josef Stalin "was enough to drive me out of the Communist party for some time." In explaining his departure from the party, Chambers confessed, "I had failed as an organization Communist."

Yet, Chambers also claimed that soon after he broke with the party and walked out of the *Daily Worker* office for the last time, he was approached for important "underground work."

To grasp fully the contradiction in Chambers' chronology of events, Krieger emphasizes the importance of understanding the results of party reorganization. "It is almost impossible for anyone who hasn't been involved with the party to understand and appreciate the importance it placed on political reliability," says Krieger. "We had just been through the big factional fight. A member had to be completely in accord with the line of the party before receiving any important work."

Chambers, a renegade from party policy, claimed on the witness stand and later in *Witness* that he was tapped for underground work by Max Bedacht, then a member of the Secretariat of the Communist National Committee. According to Chambers he was restored to the good graces of the Communist party in less than an hour.

First, he explained in *Witness*, "my misunderstanding with the party would have to be adjusted." As Krieger points out, the "misunderstanding" Chambers referred to included "his refusal to re-register, dropping out of the party, leav-

But Krieger contends that what a party member accomplished had no definitive bearing on possible selection to a higher post. He maintains that Chambers' claimed commitment as a writer for the *Daily Worker* and *New Masses* would not have automatically placed him in higher favor in the eyes of party leaders. His rise to editor did not, in itself, have any bearing on his capacity to lead or head party political work."

In *Witness*, Chambers wrote, "Both the open and underground sections of the party were under orders to carry out, so far as they were able, any instructions I might give them in the name of the Soviet apparatuses." Drawing on his own knowledge of party organization, Krieger challenges this claim. In fact, he adds, Chambers showed his ignorance of party structure when he said, in testimony and in *Witness*, that he worked with Alger Hiss in both espionage and within the party.

"No foreign government would allow agents to participate in a party organization subject to such continued government surveillance. The party was vulnerable to government agents who were working undercover within its ranks."

### Krieger's silence.

But, in the growing anti-communist climate of the late 1940s the press and government officials were hardly ready to listen to any detailed explanations of Communist party organization. The furor had reached a fierce pace and Hiss was tried in the same courthouse, just a few doors away from where ten party members were on trial for violations of the notorious Smith Act. It was all too easy for the public, with the aid of a Cold War press, to believe that the two trials were some-

# yled Soviet agent?

reorganization started. "For the first year," he says, "we always made a point of going to meetings together. But later, we would sometimes meet at meetings." After 1925, Krieger saw less and less of Chambers at party meetings and functions. "There was a period when I didn't see Chambers at all," says Krieger. "When I did meet him again he told me that he had just been through a terrible experience that deeply affected him. When I questioned him he said his brother had just died. He never mentioned how."

Chambers' brother committed suicide in 1926 and, as he later wrote in *Witness*, the incident had a jarring effect on his whole life.

### The Communist party after 1927.

Party reorganization lasted from mid-1926 to mid-1927 while, as Krieger recalls, "the party was feeling its way." There were questions about how large or small party units should be and "no clear-cut guidelines as to what was demanded of us." The one thing that party members understood without question, says Krieger, is that everyone had to re-register to retain membership.

Party reorganization centered around the creation of units that met the needs of different industrial workers. Units were renamed nuclei. Because of the factional split in the party, and this redirection in political thrust, there was a tightening of both security and discipline.

In *Witness* Chambers maintains the reorganization gave him anonymity. "I managed to be an active Communist for several years without ever attending a unit meeting."

Krieger recalls a meeting with Chambers at the Worker's Center in Union Square in the summer of 1927. (This was the last time Krieger saw Chambers.) "We met inside the lobby," says Krieger. "Chambers was on his way out with some

people. As we shook hands, I asked, 'Whittaker, have you re-registered?' He answered, 'Of course not' with a big grin. I thought he was kidding, but admonished, 'You'd better or you'll be out.' Chambers continued to smile and replied, 'You worry too much.' Then he hurried to catch up with the others."

In *Witness* Chambers confirms that he never did re-register.

It was after this final meeting in New York that the remembrances of Krieger and Chambers sharply veer apart.

After a spell of travel and Marxist study, Krieger continued his work with the *Daily Worker*. In late 1928 he conducted a midwest circulation tour for the paper, including coverage of the Chicago district. From Chicago, Krieger turned his party organizing efforts to the tri-city region of Davenport, Moline and Rock Island on the Iowa-Illinois border. In 1930 he returned to New York City to work in the Trade Union Unity League.

During all this time Chambers continued his work with the *Daily Worker* and *New Masses*, allegedly as a bonafide member of the Communist party.

While party membership was not a requirement for working on either publication, it would have certainly made Chambers aware of Krieger's work on behalf of the *Daily Worker* in particular and the party in general. Yet Chambers failed to mention the 1927 Worker's Center meeting with Krieger in *Witness* and claimed that he never saw nor heard of Sam after early 1926.

"It is inconceivable," says Krieger today, "that Chambers could not have heard of me again during that period. I was politically active in the party. I had not changed my name at that time. In fact, I was one of the organizers of the National Hunger march on Washington, D.C., and an article with my name on it appeared in the *Daily Worker* in 1932."

Krieger is convinced that "Chambers' lack of participation in party activity is the only logical explanation for why he never heard of me again. I was an active party organizer, known for my work. He was not."

ing the *Daily Worker* and strongly disagreeing with the political line of the party." Despite these misunderstandings, which Krieger labels "major shifts away from the party," Chambers claimed that after a 15 minute talk with Charles Dirba, then chairman of the Central Control Commission, he was back in the party.

Both Bedacht and Dirba have denied Chambers' claims and Krieger contends they are "ludicrous."

Dirba, in an interview with Helen Buttenweiser (related in Dr. Meyer Zeligs' book *Friendship and Fratricide*), denied all connection with Chambers. According to Zeligs, "Dirba declared that it was impossible for any such event to have happened. Such matters, far from being resolved in '15 minutes,' were dealt with in formal hearings in which everything was done in writing and subject to careful review. All matters that came before the Commission were acted upon by all members of the Commission and under no circumstances by Dirba alone."

While these denials were made several years ago, Krieger stands behind them and adds his own knowledge of party structure.

The scenario Krieger paints is that anyone selected for a high party position would have to be deemed reliable and trustworthy by other comrades, particularly with higher leadership. "A comrade who was a section organizer, for instance, had to be someone who distinguished him or herself through trade union or mass organization activities. They had to have a long personal history of committed growth," Krieger explains.

In *Witness*, Chambers attempts to develop his reputation within the party by citing his work with the *Daily Worker* and *New Masses*, his other literary work like the play *Can You Hear Their Voices*, and his eventual prominent editorial post with *New Masses* as good causes for his selection as an espionage agent.

how connected and one of the same.

That, perhaps, explains part of the reason Sam Krieger did not raise his voice in protest during the trial. When asked his reactions to Chambers' first public charges, Sam gets pensive. "I was tremendously disappointed," he answers. "That's putting it mildly. I felt terrible when I realized Chambers had turned against all that he had claimed belief in and was now speaking for the ruling class."

Even after Hiss' conviction and after reading *Witness* in 1954 Krieger still failed to challenge Chambers' credibility. Sam explains, "I did not speak up for several reasons. This was the height of the McCarthy period. Progressives like myself were being persecuted. I was a trade unionist, holding a union office. Any tie with the Communist party, even though it was behind me, would have immediately brought termination from my job. It wasn't just a matter of a job or income that was at stake. Union work was the way I could carry out my social and political beliefs."

And, in an appraisal of the times, Sam notes that the McCarthy period was not a time to speak the truth. "To use a flip-pant expression," he says, "speaking the truth to people like Richard Nixon and Senator McCarthy was like pissing up Niagara Falls. To cry out, 'Hey, Chambers is a liar,' would have certainly been a faint voice in the wilderness."

Krieger, like so many others who have studied the Chambers-Hiss case, remains convinced that Alger Hiss was framed by Whittaker Chambers and by a zealous anti-communist from Whittier, Calif.

"It is my hope," he concludes, "that the American people will study the Hiss case as an example of the nature of reaction. Reaction breeds indiscriminate actions and decisions. Justice necessitates careful weighing of evidence and decisive actions. Hiss' victory will, I believe, put the American people on guard against any such future re-actment."

*Note: Quotations from Witness by Whittaker Chambers used with the permission of Random House, Inc., New York, N.Y. Quotations from Friendship and Fratricide by Dr. Meyer Zeligs (1966) used with permission of James Brown Associates, Inc., New York, N.Y.*



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

## Humphrey-Hawkins: opening wedge

On Thursday, Nov. 10, just before the opening of the Democratic Agenda Conference in Washington, D.C., President Carter announced his support for a new version of the often-compromised Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill. The compromise was reached after weeks of negotiations between high administration officials and representatives of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn) and Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Ca).

It took Carter off a big political hook. He had only grudgingly endorsed Humphrey-Hawkins during his 1976 primary campaign in an effort to placate blacks and others after his "ethnic purity" gaffe. Then, at the insistence of his economic advisors who had opposed the earlier versions of the bill, Carter had conveniently forgotten about it.

But last summer Vernon Jordan's sharp rebuke of the administration reminded Carter of his commitment. Contrary to a promised recovery, unemployment had remained at higher levels than at any time since the Great Depression of the 1930s, especially among blacks, who had voted overwhelmingly for Carter. With the threat of growing unity among left labor leaders, blacks and left Democrats in opposition to administration policies, Carter was forced to take some action.

### Far cry from original.

The current version of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill is a far cry from the 1975 version, which stated that every adult American had the right to "useful paid employment at fair rates of compensation," and that it was the government's responsibility to develop "policies and

programs as may be needed to attain and maintain genuine full employment." The March 1975 version of the bill provided for a national plan to achieve full employment, full local participation through planning agencies and the establishment of standby job corps by the federal government. The right to a job was to be ensured by giving unemployed persons the right to sue for a job in federal court and to receive pay while waiting.

All of these provisions are gone from the version Carter endorsed. What remains is a policy commitment to reduce unemployment by 1983 to four percent overall and to three percent for workers over 20 years old. No specific action is mandated to reach that goal, although the bill recommends that the president consider countercyclical measures and youth and other employment programs, including public service jobs. The original version of the bill gave priority to full employment over inflation and the stimulation of private investment, but the current version gives equal weight to spurring private investment and to controlling the rate of inflation.

In addition, the goal of 4 percent unemployment has now been made subject to review and to revision upward after three years if the president deems it advisable.

Further, the goal of 4 percent unemployment is defined as 4 percent of those actively seeking employment at the time of measurement, whereas the original bill defined the unemployed as those merely willing and able to work. The millions of people not actively seeking work because of demoralization are not counted. The

official rates of unemployment among black teenagers, for example, is 40 percent, but this means 40 percent of those who have the stamina to keep on looking for jobs in the face of constant discouragement.

Full employment is being defined as a tolerable level of unemployment. This, of course, is consistent with the traditional liberal approach to social reform, which ameliorates social problems only to the point where they no longer pose a threat to social or political stability.

### Substantial leverage.

But even in its compromised and weakened form, the bill still gives blacks and trade union leaders substantial political leverage in the struggle for jobs. And with the need for jobs as desperate as it is, any commitment that offers the opportunity for public agitation and debate of the issue and that makes the administration less impervious to the needs of the unemployed, black and white, is a step in the right direction.

This argument was made both by Michael Harrington and Rep. John Conyers at the Democratic Agenda Conference. Harrington told *IN THESE TIMES* that weak as it is, the compromise bill had to be supported because both union and black leaders, accurately reflecting the needs and demands of their constituencies, support any attack on unemployment. He sees the bill as an opportunity to extend agitation and organization around the issue of unemployment. The President's need to report on progress toward the 4 percent goal will help keep the issue in the center of political debate, and mean-

while, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee intends to develop the issue going into the 1978 mid-term Democratic convention and 1978 congressional races.

Conyers also stressed the need to get discussion of unemployment beyond the Black Caucus and into the larger arena of congressional and presidential politics. With the president required to produce a statement of fiscal, budgetary and job-creation objectives, and to measure and report publicly on the administration's success in doing so, the issue will be in the political spotlight and in the arena of public debate.

Further, the administration's endorsement of this version of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill does not preclude the introduction of amendments designed to strengthen the bill by reviving some of the provisions dropped in the compromise process. Conyers, Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Ca) and others will probably move to amend the bill along the lines of the original version. In any case, Conyers argues, the bill is a step forward toward planning the economy around social goals, which is what really has its opponents worried.

We agree with these arguments and urge our readers to make the best of the opportunity that congressional debate on the administration version of Humphrey-Hawkins will provide. We think it is especially important for Representatives other than Conyers and Dellums to be pressured not only to support the new bill, but to support amendments that are designed to restore some of its original goals and provisions.





# Letters

## A brutal critique

Editor:

Congratulations to John Judis for his fine piece on "punk'n'roll" (*ITT*, Nov. 2). Aside from Judis and Robert Christgau, neither the left nor straight press has shown any comprehension of the "new wave" music. It's interesting that most left critics have taken the same attitude toward punk rock as the bourgeois media, thus sensationalizing the most bizarre aspects and tagging it a "social disease" or "an expression of neo-fascism."

Obviously the new music is often politically directionless, yet it nevertheless stands as an exciting, demanding, and defiant statement of the conditions and needs of working class youth. Accordingly, the songs speak of joblessness, drugs, class resentments and fears, the hypocrisy of dominant morality, apocalypse, and even revolution.

These are songs of despair and rebellion. Songs that challenge and cause discomfort. These are not songs for "easy listening" and most of them (so far) are "not suitable" for FM programming. Songs like "Cops & Thieves," "I'm So Bored with the USA," "Howling Wind," "Watch the Moon Come Down" and "Career Opportunities" reveal a brutal critique of adolescent working class life.

Where all this is leading is, of course, difficult to know. There is extraordinary diversity and unevenness within the punk movement. The new wave will no doubt spin off in many directions depending on the general political, economic, and cultural currents of the time. In the meantime, the left would be well served by lending the new music a critical ear.

—Sandy Carter  
Cambridge, Mass.

## Non-sequitor of the week

Editor:

The ambiguity of your headline sums it up—"Free speech for Nazis is for our own good" (*ITT*, Oct. 26). This is somewhat at odds with history. Joshua Dressler's argument has the same failing. To make the equation that "free" speech for the Nazis ought to constitute a guarantee of "free" speech for the left is absurd. The bourgeoisie have never acted by neat moral formulas; I suggest that the left and the workers movement cannot afford to either. For the following reasons: we should address ourselves to what would have happened if the Skokie march (and similar marches in the future) had gone ahead. Permission for the march to have taken place would have meant a carte blanche for fascist thugs (no doubt well protected by the police) to terrorize members of the community. A socialist should be fighting for the rights of oppressed groups to defend themselves against racism and fascism, not for the rights of racists and fascists to beat them up.

—Nicholas Robin  
Worcester, Mass.

## The Nazis again

Editor:

Your editorial "Free speech and socialist democracy" (*ITT*, Nov. 9) is naive and, I think, equally as dangerous as the sectarian left positions on the subject.

You are confusing the expansion of liberties so essential to socialism, and the "rights" of persons to exploit, perpetuate hatred of minorities, and maintain corporate hegemony. I am a libertarian Marxist, but I still can't see how the Nazis and the KKK have the right to express and execute their perverse hatred. They are, in effect, denying Jews, blacks

and other minorities the right to exist as a group and to fulfill their human potential. To me, that's what a socialist society is all about.

You are right, of course, in emphasizing human liberties as synonymous with socialism. We desperately need democratic institutions. We need a society in which people can express themselves as a group advocating the common good, as well as one in which self-expression is not only tolerated but encouraged. We also need to acknowledge that, for many reasons, socialist societies today have not achieved this. This is primarily why I identify so strongly with *IN THESE TIMES*.

But I think you are getting on the wrong bandwagon. In your enthusiasm to proclaim socialist civil liberties, you are endorsing two organizations who essentially want to take them away. Ideally, in an advanced state of consciousness, socialist societies shouldn't have to deal with this issue. But like it or not, the issue of racism confronts us now, and we have to delineate between what socialist ideas are and are not. Civil liberties will fall into place unless you believe that people are inherently racist and anti-Semitic.

—Andrew Goutman  
Philadelphia

**Editor's note:** We are not endorsing the Nazis or the KKK. That should be obvious from what we wrote. We do think the Nazis, and anyone else, should have the right to express hatreds, perverse or otherwise. We do not believe they have the right to "execute" their hatred. Because we believe that people are not inherently racist or anti-Semitic we advocate political action and popular education and organization against the ideas and activities of the Nazis and the KKK. Only through a process of popular agitation and education can the racist ideas of such groups be exposed and defeated as contrary to the interests of working people. Relying on the state to suppress opinions that we believe to be anti-social would hardly be a better solution, since it would encourage popular passivity and reliance on those who now control the government.

## More on sex

Editor:

Eli Zaretsky's "Toward a New Form of Sex Therapy" (*ITT*, Nov. 2) is interesting, yet incomplete. His descriptions of current sex therapy are accurate; the scientific study of sex promises a new basis for equality for both men and women; sexual dysfunctioning results from performance anxiety; and open communication enables a couple to get in touch with their true feelings and thereby provide a base for "authentic sexual response." However, contemporary sex therapy seeks to free individuals from the symptoms of sexual repression through behavioral techniques without attacking the sources of that repression. Because bourgeois sex therapy is oriented to upper-class clients and because its goals are so limited (the commodity orgasm), it suffers from a failure of conceptualization and therefore of practice.

Sex therapy calculates its success rate in terms of helping women to achieve orgasm, men to prolong orgasm, and both sexes to free themselves from sexual ignorance. It fails to address the increasing number of incestuous relationships, the rape of the American wife, and child molestation. By primarily writing these sexual "dysfunctions" off as neuroses and psychoses for the psychiatrist to handle, sex therapy fails to see sexual problems as point on a continuum representing manifestations of alienation, oppression, mystification and abstraction. Even its "success" rate in terms of "normal" sexual problems is questionable—Masters and Johnson concentrate on the marital unit as the source of the problem, never questioning the relationship of monogamous marriage to feelings of alienation resulting in orgasmic problems.

Sex therapy makes a lot of money by

perpetuating the myth that the sexual revolution has already occurred; it asserts that individuals now have control over their own sexual functioning and desires. Yet, the absence of a national public sex education program in schools, Medicaid abortions, the inadequacies of birth control methods, the recent laws against abortion, and the continued sexual repression of both men and women (particularly the elderly and adolescents) shows that this revolution has not come. What has occurred, is simply a growing awareness of the manifestations of alienation expressed as sexual problems.

—Diane De Mauro  
New York

## A lesson that still needs learning

Editor:

Mark Naison's interview with Les Rodney (*ITT*, Oct. 12), my friend and *Daily Worker* colleague of many years, was an effective evocation of Les' unique contribution to left working class journalism. His role, as that of the paper and the Communist party, in the campaign to break through the major league's color barrier in the 1940s has yet to be properly told.

Les and I feel, however, that Naison may have inadvertently conveyed an inaccurate impression in suggesting that everything in the paper except the sports page was characterized by "sectarianism and obsession with Soviet models." There was certainly plenty of sectarianism and such obsession. But there were also several other *Daily Worker* journalists who were experts in their fields—labor, black struggles, national and local politics, issues of social insurance, housing, education, taxes, public finance, as well as more theoretical matters involving the economy, effective revolutionary tactics, etc. These journalists may not have measured up to Lester's considerable literary skill, but they were respected for their knowledge and competence both by fellow journalists and activists in the areas involved.

They had to know their stuff and to present it effectively. In the late 1930s and 1940s, the 30,000 *Daily Worker* readers and the nearly 100,000 readers of the Sunday edition, *The Worker*, included literally thousands who were influential figures—leaders and rank-and-filers—in the left movements of the period. The paper was an essential source of daily information of a kind they could get nowhere else, as well as an aide in determining the direction they needed to go. It was in fact an agitator and an organizer on a wide range of issues.

As regards the "obsession with Soviet models," it has been charged that paper, and the CP, never did learn how to educate for socialism in American terms. The charge is generally accurate. Unfortunately, it's a lesson that still needs learning.

—Max Gordon  
New York

## Women and occupational health revisited

Editor:

Teena Brown's letter to the editor (*ITT*, Nov. 2) left me wondering if she and I had been to the same CACOSH Conference on Women and Occupational Health, held in Chicago in October.

I take issue with Brown particularly because her characterization of that day is so demeaning to the 200 or so women who attended. The conference was far from droning and boring, nor was it dominated by men, (who were in a minority by about ten to one).

In one of the morning workshops, the audience of women industrial workers took over the discussion after a brief introduction by the male and female workshop leaders. The women spoke articulately and with feeling about their job conditions. Their frustrations and confusions were countered by suggestions for change that came as often from fellow workers with similar problems as from professionals in the field.

A similar dynamic continued into the afternoon session which focused on specific health issues and remedies. Brown is right that the broader political and economic context was not the subject of a specific workshop, yet it was a thread that ran throughout the day as women learned how to begin to take the offensive against corporate domination of health and safety regulations.

One participant noted at the end of the day that while many health issues are of special concern to women, men and women must organize together if workers are to have the strength to counter industry on these and other issues. Other women spoke with excitement of returning to their locals to test the skills they had learned that day. The picture Brown paints of women being turned off, shut up and put down by the male conference goers does not ring true to me.

—Andrea Gundersen  
Chicago

## Montezuma strikes again

Editor:

The excellent article "Pesticides Found in Coffee," by David Weir (*ITT*, Nov. 2), demonstrates the irony of a modern case of "Montezuma's Revenge."

We ship these pesticides overseas even though we know they are harmful and can't be used domestically. Perhaps the folks in Brazil and the Ivory Coast have some secret immunity to cancer. In any event, it now appears that they are repaying our generosity by sending us contaminated coffee.

The loophole in the federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act that allows American companies to continue producing outlawed pesticides for export raises another interesting question. Does this law grant immunity from cancer to the workers in the plants producing these pesticides?

—Phillip C. Chinn  
Wheaton, Ill.

## Corrections

John Judis was the author of "Will you still need me, will you still heed me, when it's '84: Carter in 1984" on pages 14-15 of last week's issue.

There are errors in the last two reviews by Alan Cheuse: in the review of *The Animal Factory* (Nov. 2) the identification of Edward Bunker should be as one of "this latter group of authentic narrators"; in the review of *The Cold Cash War* (Nov. 9) the citation in the first paragraph should be Zbigniew Brzezinski's *Between Two Ages* instead of the Galbraith book.

**Editor's Note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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Roberta Lynch

# Socialism and democracy: seeking the answers in life



"...One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Unless things have changed more than I realize, school children today are reciting those words daily. Just as my generation did. And our parents' before us. (Actually, god only got involved in it all with the religiously fervent patriotism of the 1950s.)

The belief in "liberty and justice for all" is deeply ingrained in the American psyche—though there are obviously widely differing interpretations of what it means. Democracy is the definition that we give to our nationhood.

It is a promise, an ideal, a vision. It is also the commonplace of shyster politicians, an apologia for the ravages of free enterprise, and a banner slogan for wars of aggression. Democracy under capitalism is constantly subverted, denied its true meaning and full potential. Private production shapes a class society in which rights, like income, are parcelled out in vastly different proportions.

It is no wonder, then, that for all the potent symbolism of democracy in American life, its reality remains mired in a confusing mix of constitutional legalities, semi-populist tendencies, and economic determinants. For most people democracy probably includes two central elements: the principle of "one man (sic), one vote" and the freedoms enumerated in the Bill of Rights.

These are not small matters. They are the fruit of centuries of human sacrifice and struggle. And, although the term is seldom used in our history books—class struggle.

But neither do they represent a full understanding of democracy. They are circumscribed by capitalist economic re-

lations and don't take other important factors into account. They fail to project a vision of democracy that can address the needs for community, for direct participation, for genuinely accountable leadership, for informed decision-making. They fail, in other words, to give people a sense of involvement in controlling their own destinies.

A fuller democratic vision should be at the heart of socialism. But the growth of this new approach is not just a matter of the ideas and pronouncements of socialists. It will require a process of change within the working class itself to give it meaning. A transformation based on actions that can suggest the potential that exists when groups of people come together to take back a piece of their own lives.

Such action is still rare. And, in fact, one of the central problems for our contemporary left is not so much political repression as the acceptance of the existing loaded dice at the grass roots. It is the willingness to trade a color TV for a voice in neighborhood planning, a microwave oven for control over what kind of food is produced, a 12¢ an hour raise for a say about job safety conditions.

Such choices are not the "fault" of individuals, but are the product of various historic choices made by a socialist movement that was once based in the working class and a labor movement that was once influenced by the left. They are a sign of power gone awry, of misplaced priorities, of a seeming lack of alternatives. A movement for democratic socialism requires changes at this fundamental level.

There is no doubt that this can seem a

disheartening time for such change. The right is now the media's darling and Phyllis Schlafly is fast becoming a household word. But with all that, there are some very important—if still embryonic—developments around the country that could have a profound impact on the political terrain in the coming years. They are new organizing efforts that begin with the question of people's power and thrive on direct action or popular involvement.

They sometimes avoid the "hot" issues of the day and so avoid political labeling as well, but their main thrust has been progressive, and in the interests of working people, women, and minorities against those of corporate power. These movements do not (yet) have the social force of the struggles of the sixties, but they are more broadly based among a spectrum of working class people.

They range from the potent challenge of Ed Sadlowski's campaign in the United Steelworkers to the core of Coor's brewery strikers who have hung on against all manner of intimidation and gotten a strong sense of collective pride and solidarity. From the 700 office workers who turned out for Women Employed's annual conference in Chicago to the Women workers at J.P. Stevens' Roanoke Rapids plant who are lending so much spirit to the national boycott effort in support of unionization. From the alliance that elected Ken Cockrel, a black Marxist, as a member of the Detroit Common Council, to MAHA, a multi-racial community organization that took on the redlining of Chicago's neighborhoods.

They include the Teamsters' union reform groups; ACORN, a community or-

ganizing network across the South; the iron ore miners in Minnesota who've defied the company and pushed the union; the dozens of groups that have sprung up to resist rising utility rates; the electoral effort of Tom Hayden and the ongoing work of his campaign organization; and much more.

None of these groups is about to turn the country upside down (or, more accurately, rightside up). What is so vital about them is that in big and small ways, they do bring people together and give them a sense of their own power and potential. And their limited successes raise important questions for the left.

As socialists we are not just concerned with democracy in the abstract—but in the context of changing society—of changing values and power relationships. These elements do not always simply mesh. How can we develop democratic models of organizing when capitalist ideology is still so pervasive? How can we build broad movements that are shaped by the people who participate in them, yet are politically progressive? How can we enable people to feel that a movement is their own without building in unwieldy structures and obsessive rounds of meetings that drive participants away or sap their energy? How can we change attitudes in the process of effecting political and economic change?

The grass roots movements that are growing up offer ways to seek the answers in life. Our commitment to democracy can only be made real through such hard exploration.

*Roberta Lynch is a member of the National Committee of the New American Movement.*

## DIALOG

### Hans Koning: Human rights includes a lot more than civil liberties

When I wrote (*ITT*, Aug. 24) about the looters of New York (who, in full possession of human rights denied Soviet dissidents, still weren't contented), I raised anger and a cloud of misunderstanding. I was asked, had I been implying that the violations of civil liberties in Eastern Europe were unimportant? Was I trying to do a whitewash or maybe a brainwash?

We seem conditioned by "codewords," and by obfuscations usually beginning with "to be perfectly frank." From all our reading and hearing between the lines, we've started to skip the lines themselves. I was saying precisely what I meant to say, No whitewash.

On a number of subjects in the American public debate a rational dialogue is well-nigh impossible (as impossible as three centuries ago a debate on Protestantism versus Catholicism). The Mideast is one of those subjects; life in Communist states another. Nonetheless, here I go; bear with me.

The countries of Eastern Europe, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, used to be disaster areas for their peoples, if we do not count the barons and the magnates. Since 1917 or 1945, they have been involved, willy or nilly, in a semi-communist experiment, a total turnabout

from what they had and from what we have. Some of it failed. Some was successful. The Balkans have been at peace for the first time in modern history. The average citizen is properly fed, clad, educated, and medicated. Even Russia has more social justice than before. All this apart from the basic fact that a Kerensky-Russia would probably have been defeated, and then exterminated, by Hitler.

However, the pieces filed by our journalists from those countries never deal with what it means to live in such societies. How does a person function when there is a state religion of commonality and "serving," no profit incentive, no unemployment, no school or doctor's fees, no units to pay for on your phone bill—and, on the other hand, regimentation, permanent bureaucratic hassles, and a new elite of unapproachable big shots?

Beyond the issues of dissidence and human rights, our reporters concentrate on new weapons, and on *anecdotes*, a black market icon, factory snafus, an octogenarian Georgian farmer outwitting the Moscow apparatchiks. When our reporters discuss daily life, they do so in the terms of American suburbia: I remember a piece in the *New York Times Magazine* about some Russian spot where the correspondent expressed disdain that one-third of the houses had no indoor toilet. I read that while living on a farm not far from Paris where I was writing a book. Half the houses in my area had no indoor toilets.

Our press does not look at the differences of principle in these very different societies. They ignore the principles and oscillate between these two problems of Communism: (1) you can't just board a plane and leave even if you have the money, and (2) their toilet paper hurts your behind.

This is but a preamble. My point: neither they nor we have succeeded in providing for both basic human needs and basic human rights. Our system, given its riches, has done a terrible job of securing needs. Generations of children go to the

dogs for lack of jobs, even for lack of decent housing, schooling, and medicine. And you cannot look only from the Redwood Forest to the Gulfstream Waters: you have to include the cardboard and oil-can slums of Latin America and the sweatshops of South Korea. They're all part of our system.

On the other hand, if you put those economic and social disasters to one side and look at our society through liberal eyes, you have to admit that the U.S. government leaves us alone—free. If you don't bother them, they won't bother you.

In the Soviet Union you're not left alone, and you cannot leave if you want to. Many politicians and writers have announced that the right to emigrate is the basic human right. This shows how elitist our worries about dissidence are and how we're aware only of a very little sliver of humanity. The dispossessed of this world are not pining to emigrate. Their governments would give them a glad good riddance, but no one would take them in. They want bread or rice, and penicillin, which they have in the Soviet Union.

Yes, I believe that human rights are essential to the human spirit. But they are not simply a missing ingredient in the Soviet pie, which will be added if we speak loud enough to Moscow or brandish a big enough stick. There's a reason they are not there, which is the precise mirror of the reason that there's no full employment and no full literacy and no full stomachs in the capitalist part of the world. A serious effort at socialism (as distinct from social democracy, which is capitalism plus lots of welfare) demands an amount of discipline that could not be gotten in the countries that have gone socialist so far with volunteers.

More crucial, socialism, communism, or any facsimile thereof, is an ideology that lives in a state of siege on our overwhelmingly capitalist planet. And that is true, too, of democratic socialism, Dubcek's "socialism with a human face," which in fact is neither tolerated by us nor by the Soviet Union.

In 1968 a Dutch diplomat in Bucharest told me that Russia would not have intervened with Dubcek if Robert Kennedy hadn't been killed. The fear for a presidency of Nixon carried the day for the hawks, who held that Dubcek Czechs would weaken their outworks. I don't know if there is any truth in it, but it demonstrates a state of mind. Seen from the East, as in Czechoslovakia, humanistic socialism appears as a weak link. Seen from the West, as in Chile or Portugal or England, it seems the thin edge of a wedge.

The U.S. didn't need tank movements to get rid of Allende or of socialism in Portugal. Money movements did just as well.

On this earth are two armed camps living under a truce. Within those fields of force, the choice facing nations is not "guns or butter" but "the free minds of the few, or the full stomachs of the many."

If that is so—and this is where my looters article was misread—then I consider starving children a greater affront to our common humanity than harassed or jailed intellectuals.

*Hans Koning is a New York novelist and former reporter-at-large for the New Yorker. His latest novel, The Petersburg-Cannes Express is now being filmed in Europe; his latest book of non-fiction, A New Yorker in Egypt, came out last winter.*

Solution to last week's puzzle:

R	U	B	E	B	A	R	O	D	Y	L	A	N
U	S	E	R	U	S	A	R	A	M	I	N	O
D	I	V	A	F	O	R	A	S	H	E	D	S
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Pete Karman

## The Karman Turn

# The joy of sects: a handy guide

The following is a consumer's guide to America's best known radical groups. It is for those who want to improve their sect lives, or for sneak reading at meetings where even the agents provocateurs have dozed off. It was inspired by retired communist Jessica Mitford's remark that "I fear we were tiresomely self-righteous (or should it be leftuous?)."

Many of you may find this guide infantile, reactionary or, worst of all, incomplete. My only defense is that my heart is in the left place. Comments should be addressed to: Abbie Hoffman, Social Director, FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Building, Washington, D.C. 20001.

### Communist Party U.S.A.

Known simply as The Party. The "true church" of American leftism. For more than a half century the CP has inspired, recruited, disciplined, expelled, flirted with, exiled, charmed, appalled, impoverished, or been persecuted by nearly everyone in American public life. Dick Nixon made his name by hounding it and Grandpa Walton was once blacklisted for having been associated with it. At its peak during WWII, The Party had influence that far surpassed its modest goals. Realizing this, it attempted suicide in 1945 in emulation of its Comintern parent. Revived by popular (front) demand, The Party almost died again in the 1950s as a result of the McCarthyite suppression of communists at home and the Stalinist oppression of communists elsewhere. Today the CP is enjoying a mini resurgence. Pro-Soviet as ever, Party leaders are now willing to admit—if pressed—that old Joe might have made a "few errors in the area of socialist legality." The strongest plank in its new platform calls for militant mass struggle against those imperialist monopolies unwilling to extend favorable trade terms to Moscow.

The twin stars of the New Old Left are Gus Hall, the Lawrence Welk of American Marxism, and Angela Davis, the Farrah Fawcett-Majors of the Soviet poster industry.

The Party's paper is the prolix Daily World. It has lots of photos of hydroelectric stations in Bratsk. It's put out by elves who use pen names that can be written backwards or forwards (e.g., Charles James/James Charles). They think it fools

the Feds. As ever, the CP is financed by U.S. government subsidies in the form of dues and donations from the FBI agents in its ranks.

Ex-CPers tend to be our parents. Current members are more interesting. Oldtimers can be identified by their Murray Space Shoes; younger ones dress like Leo Gorcey or Lily Tomlin. To attract Third World youth, they play salsa, reggae and rock at Party socials. The kids dance, and the commissars try to smile.

Ideological discipline is tight, but many older members are said secretly to support Israel, to think Fidel is too flashy, and to admire Mo Udall and Bella Abzug. If they get caught, they get "Brought Up On Charges." BUOC is the CP's sacred secret rite. Initiates have to face a panel of Party leaders, who accuse them of arcane things that can only be understood by one who has deciphered Lenin's "Empirio-Criticism." Being BUOC is not too scary because local laws prevent the CP from having anyone taken out and shot.

The best thing that can happen to a CPer is to get invited on a free trip (off-season) to the USSR. If you bring ten pairs of Levi's and a dozen Marvin Gaye albums you can make enough money on the black market to quit The Party and join the exploiting class.

### The Chinese Contract.

An arrangement rather than a movement. Every few years, China grants a franchise to a deserving group of Americans. The recipients get semi-exclusive rights to the sale of tours to China, place mats, literature, color calendars, and hand-painted porcelain teapots. Top salespeople are feted at gala state dinners in the Forbidden City. In exchange, the franchisees agree to alert American public opinion to the danger of Soviet aggression. It's a cinch, considering that the groundwork has been laid by 30 years of official American propaganda.

Since 1961, the Chinese Contract has been successively held by Progressive Labor, the *Guardian*, R.M. Nixon & Associates, Shirley MacLaine Boutiques, and American Express. In a surprise move earlier this year it was awarded to U.S. Communist Party (M.L.), formerly trading as the October League. USCP(ML) won it on the basis of a polemic claiming that Sov-

iet social-imperialism and Irwin Silber, editor of the *Guardian*, were the main enemies of progressive humanity.

The CC has cachet with well-heeled suburban liberals, for whom China trips are the equivalent of two Volvo station-wagons as status symbols. CCers greet each other by saying, "We're having some people over Friday night to see our slides of The Great Wall."

### Weather Underground?

An unresolved question.

### Carnaval Cubana.

A Caribbean work'n'fun project for out-of-shape radicals. Cane cutting, fly swatting and dance lessons under tropic skies. One of the best vacation deals on the left. Friendly, politically hip people and fabulous beaches. Each visit includes a performance of an existential play with audience participation called *Waiting for Fidel*. Sometimes he shows up.

### Socialist Workers Party.

CPers call them "wreckers and splitters," the FBI calls them a menace, but the world affectionately knows them as "The Trots." (A point on usage: "Trotskyist" is okay, "Trotskyite" is perjorative.) The Trots are interpreters and upholders of the will of Leon Trotsky, the Russian revolutionary who was given the axe by Stalin. Several SWP seniors actually knew Trotsky. Two things are invariably said about the SWP: Trotsky didn't deserve them, and they are in favor of revolutions everywhere except where they have happened. Sharp polemicists and tireless organizers, SWPers spend most of their time recruiting new members who then split to form opposition Trotskyist sects. I'll let you in on one of their secrets: you know those funny white hats they wear with a big SWP and a half-crimson globe on them? Well, they get them from the Sherman-Williams Paint Company.

### Socialist Labor Party.

Some nice oldtimers. Write them and they will send you a diagram (suitable for framing) of exactly how the new society should be organized.

### Socialist Party.

A pleasant fellow in Milwaukee.



### Black Panthers.

Classified ad in Oakland Tribune: "Moving to new neighborhood. Must sell autographed copies of *Soul on Ice*, fine examples of heavy rhetoric (circa 1969), like-new shotguns, and six tons USDA Choice frozen honky pork bellies. Cash or straight swap for votes."

### Guardian Clubs.

Weapons for canine abuse. Useful for beating lap dogs, running dogs, and dogs already in water.

### Campaign for Economic Democracy.

Soon to be a major motion picture.

### New American Movement (NAM).

Half an Asian country, or a folksong and campfire society. NAMers believe in the essential laid back mellowness of almost anything and the viability of providing an American definition for an abhorrent foreign ideology. Rumor has it that NAM has been infiltrated by a leftist newspaper based in Chicago.

### Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC).

The right wing of the left wing or the left wing of the right wing. DSOC consists of Michael Harrington and a group of labor leaders and academicians who sell NYC municipal bonds as a sideline. Prone as a posture, DSOC rises to its knees in election years to beg radicals to vote Democratic. The organization officially admires dead socialists (Gene Debs, Jean Juarez and Mario Soares) on the principle the deader the better. Activists are rewarded with trips to Portuguese latifundia recently cleared of peasants who didn't realize that starvation is no excuse for extremism. Write and they'll send you a photo of Helmut Schmidt having a scotch with James Callaghan.

*Pete Karman is a free-lance writer in Middletown, Conn. His column appears regularly.*

Frances Moore Lappe/ Joe Collins

## Food and Development

# Aiding the "small" farmers

**Question:** How does the World Bank put into practice its announced policy of giving aid to small farmers in underdeveloped countries?

**Answer:** By changing the commonly accepted definition of "small farmer," at least in Guatemala.

The World Bank and the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) have recently drafted a proposal for funding agricultural credit in Guatemala. The three-volume draft proposes that over the next six years the two agencies channel loan funds through the Guatemalan government to increase production "mainly on small and medium farms."

This appears to be right in line with proclamations by Robert McNamara and other World Bank officials that priority will be given to the credit needs of the rural poor. The figures in this report, however, belie such statements.

First, the proposal itself discloses that over half of all the credit would not go to small farmers but to what the Bank calls "medium" and "larger" farms. Of

the 1,100 farms benefitting from the credit program, 200 would receive over half of all the money.

The other half supposedly goes to small farmers. Who gets the credit will hinge, of course, on how these agencies define "small" in Guatemala. In their report, a small farm is defined as one of less than 112 acres (45 ha.). But anyone familiar with land tenure in Guatemala can tell you that 112 acres is hardly the cut-off point for separating out the small farmers. In fact, only the top three percent of all Guatemalan farms have more than 112 acres. (This top three percent, we have already noted, would receive half of all the credit allocated.)

So the 112-acre cut-off point leaves the project free to steer half its credit funds to a full 97 percent of all farms while calling them all "small," and while crediting itself with helping the needy. What then is to prevent the bank from picking its "small farmers" from the second layer rural elite—that 10 percent of all Guatemalan farmers who own over

18 acres but still less than 112?

The size of the individual loans gives substance to doubts about any of the credit reaching below these elites. In the "small farm" category, the maximum loan would be \$10,000. That figure alone suggests that this project would not be dealing with the real rural poor in Guatemala, those farmers who own less than an acre apiece—one-fifth of all Guatemalan farmers—and, of course, the many rural people with no land at all. In Guatemala, the vast majority of farm families in a good year might each earn \$500. What kind of collateral could such a farmer provide to qualify for loans on the scale discussed by the Bank? The answer is none at all. Only the better-off can participate in the project.

Moreover, if the major obstacle in the way of self-reliance for the rural poor is the tight grip on the land by the rural elite, how can the World Bank claim to be helping the poor while it capitalizes the laid-off elite? Yet the Bank report tells us that "At the request...of the government,

some of the large farms have been included in the project, mainly because of their potential for export earning and utilization of the established access of the beef export industry in the U.S. market."

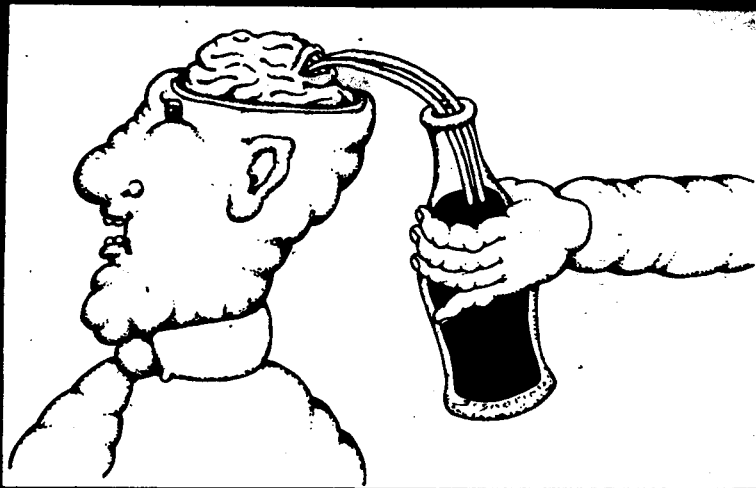
The World Bank's lending funds derive from the sale of bonds to member governments. Voting power is in accord with the proportion of capital subscribed by member governments. The United States now holds 23 percent of the voting power for loan approval or disapproval. Currently, President Carter is attempting to significantly increase the U.S. subscription to the World Bank's capital fund.

*Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins co-direct the Institute for Food and Development Policy, 2588 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94110. Lappe is the author of *Diet for a Small Planet*. In July 1977, Houghton Mifflin published their new book, *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity*. Their column appears regularly in IN THESE TIMES.*





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**1 PM** The Politics of Energy, **Barry Commoner**  
**2:30** Workshops:  
Organizing Working Women, **Day Creamer, Clara Day, Mary Jean Collins**  
Problems and Prospects for American Socialism, **Dorothy Healey**  
Carter and the Prospects for Capitalism, **Alan Wolfe, Carl Parrini**  
Racism and Civil Liberties, **Lu Palmer, David Hamlin, Sister Gabriel Herbers**  
Toward a New Political Majority in Chicago, **Don Rose, Vernon Jarrett, Heather Booth**  
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**9:30** Dance to **Return of the Kalif**

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## Employment conference

*Continued from page 3.*

nated it since the McGovern procedural reforms to substantive discussion of issues and the airing of grievances concerning the Carter administration.

They also are considering regional Democratic Agenda meetings around the country, possibly on a single date next spring. In the process DSOC hopes to train its membership to be spokespeople on the full employment issue. In early December, a regional conference will be held in Dallas, which has won the support of local labor councils, American Indian organizations, Hispanics and blacks, along with some funding from the Uni-

versity of Texas.

"The next step from here," Harrington told IN THESE TIMES, "is to get together with the leadership of various organizations and try to agree on two or three demands related to full employment for 1978."

"Part of the problem is that we're doing this on a shoestring. But we're coming along better than we thought and there's a good spirit. The people who did help us with the financing, primarily the unions, are quite happy at what they see here. They feel the potential of this kind of coalition."

## Philadelphia story

*Continued from page 24.*

It was not surprising then to find that in the *Inquirer's* newsroom Foreman was known as a favorite of her editors, who "was not to be messed with," as one reporter put it.

While none of the editors would own up to it, such favoritism goes a long way toward accounting for why none of them did anything about reports of Foreman's affair with a man she was covering until many months after it was common—and rankling—knowledge in both their own newsroom and Philadelphia political circles.

The excuses offered by the editors are unconvincing: "I'm just kind of accustomed to hearing when women reporters start getting breaks on stories on their beats, a high degree of the times these are accompanied by rumors of sex," said executive editor Roberts. Associate managing editor Steve Lovelady blamed the hostility of the City Hall bureau for the rumors, as part of their continuing "criticism of whoever was the political writer." Metropolitan editor John Carroll said simply, "It fell through the cracks."

Foreman's affair with Cianfrani was almost a year old and in full bloom in June 1976 when a strange and convoluted episode developed. It was in connection with an *Inquirer* series of articles exposing inhuman and illegal conditions at the Farview State Hospital for the criminally insane.

Almost as soon as the series of articles appeared, Cianfrani got the state senate to establish a special committee to investigate the charges, with himself as chairman. Foreman told several people that it was she who had persuaded Cianfrani to form the committee. Certainly the move was out of character: Cianfrani had never, in 20 years as an elected state official, conducted an investigation of a state agency; in fact, he had frequently and vigorously opposed such investigations. The *Inquirer*, for its part, had frequently criticized him editorially for such opposition.

But now, as the series appeared, Cianfrani ran his committee as if he were Ralph Nader's right-hand-man, holding hearings, touring the hospital, questioning witnesses relentlessly and finally calling for the facility to be closed. And all of his proceedings were faithfully and copiously reported in the *Inquirer*.

This odd coalition did not sit well with many *Inquirer* staff members. "It was almost starting to look like a setup," one of them said. "I felt... we were being used by Cianfrani and that we were using him as well."

And the payoff for such an informal arrangement, which Laura Foreman claimed to have catalyzed? For the *Inquirer* it helped the paper close in on a Pulitzer Prize for the hospital series. And for Cianfrani, it provided a steady stream of favorable press reports when, as it turned out, he was beginning to need them. For while the *Inquirer* was faithfully chronicling his indignant investigation of Farview hospital, the *Philadelphia Bulletin* was reporting on Cianfrani's alleged involvement in several illegal schemes, which were also attracting the attention of federal agents. One scheme involved big payoffs to Cianfrani by parents of applicants to Pennsylvania medical

schools, in return for which the senator allegedly guaranteed admission. But when the applicants did not get into the schools their parents did not get their money back.

The *Inquirer* got its Pulitzer; Foreman, after covering the national political conventions for the *Inquirer* in the summer of 1976, moved on and up to the Washington bureau of the *New York Times* in early 1977. Federal investigators kept after Henry Cianfrani, and by last summer they were closing in. FBI agents interviewed Laura Foreman about him, and the gifts she had accepted from him, in July. Word of the interviews later reached the *Inquirer* newsroom.

It was only then that the indulgent editors realized they and their paper's cherished credibility were shortly to be muddied. When one of their reporters confirmed on Aug. 25 that the gifts and cash had been accepted while Foreman was on the political beat, they rushed to publish the story before being scooped. It ran, two days later, on page one under the headline *Inquirer Conflict in Cianfrani Case*."

At several points in the *Inquirer* article there are lengthy discussions about some of the professional and ethical questions raised by the Foreman case: should reporters accept gifts from their subjects? Should they socialize with people they report on? Should their private lives be as open to scrutiny as a politician's?

These are real enough issues, and while trying to clean up its own act, the *Inquirer* has managed to nail Laura Foreman's professional scalp to the newsroom wall.

But there is another question, never addressed by the *Inquirer* but implicit in their investigation, that echoes loudest in the mind of a working reporter: If Foreman got what she deserved in this affair—and I think she did—what of the *Inquirer* editors who for more than a year favored her, promoted her and covered for her? Foreman's career is in tatters, but what about theirs?

There has been no hint of rolling editorial heads, large or small, in the wake of the *Inquirer's* exposure of its handling of the case. A check with Donald Barlett, one of the two reporters who wrote the piece, confirmed that there had been no action against any editor and none contemplated.

Seen from this angle, the *Inquirer's* "self-investigation" takes on a distinctly less noble aspect.

The article makes abundantly clear that much responsibility for the perpetuation of the conflict lies further up the editorial ladder than Laura Foreman's now empty desk, but she is the only one who has had to pay any price beyond a red face for what happened.

There is also something particularly unsavory about the spectacle of male editors sacrificing the career of a wayward woman reporter—the first woman political reporter, the article carefully points out, in the *Inquirer's* 145-year history. They were also too careful, while detailing Foreman's numerous love affairs, including names, to omit the identities of the two married men on their staff to whom she had been "romantically linked."

*Chuck Fager is a free-lance writer in the Washington area.*



## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## MEDIA

# Village Voice workers unionize

The most significant aspect of the contract is that freelance writers are included.

By Barbara Garson

NEW YORK—In the wake of a strike ultimatum, round the clock bargaining and plans for an alternate strike paper, newly organized employees of the *Village Voice* voted to accept their first union contract.

The 200 hundred member unit, organized as part of District 65, includes all categories of *Voice* workers from messengers to editors, from photographers to ad salesmen. Most significantly, for the first time in the U.S., free-lance writers are represented.

Though the National Labor Relations Board explicitly excluded free-lance writers from the bargaining unit, the rest of the employees firmly refused to sit down without the free-lancers.

It was this issue that brought the *Village Voice* Organizing Committee to District 65, a 28,000-member, left-leaning, catch-all union, outside of the AFL-CIO. The regular newspaper unions would not accept the free-lancers as members of the unit.

The *Village Voice* is the most profitable newspaper in New York City. (It is owned by the Australian newspaper magnate Rupert Murdoch, who also owns the *New York Post* and *New York Magazine*.) Its pay-scale, however, is a throwback to its primal origins as an underground paper. The new contract doesn't go very far to change this.

It accepts minimums like \$87.50 a week for messengers, \$135 for clericals, \$180 for copy editors. However, there are some extraordinary clauses.

The contract not only sets minimums for free-lance articles but also guarantees, to even one-time contributors, kill fees, access to the medical plan, immediate payment of agreed expenses and payment on acceptance. (Former *Voice* policy—payment on publication—often meant payment in six months, a year, or never, if

the article was held till it became outdated.)

An unprecedented contract clause states that no changes will be made in copy without consultation, unless the contributor can't be reached. (It's yet to be seen what this means in practice.)

The contract assures many standard union benefits including well-defined job security, substantial severance pay, \$10 and \$20 raises, and small improvements in vacation and overtime pay.

In addition, there were peculiarly *Voice*-oriented benefits, like three paid mourning days for the death of a person with whom the employee had a "family-type" relationship or equality of meals. This stems from resentment by the clerical staff over the kind of food that's ordered in for them compared to what editors get when they all stay late to put out the paper.

The contract was presented with a minimum of fan-fare by the haggard negotiating committee. They said it was the best that could be gotten without a strike.

A straw vote showed only two members in favor of a strike. However there were many abstentions. A great deal of the floor discussion took the general

form of "Of course I don't want to strike but this really isn't so good for me."

After the straw vote the president of District 65, David Livingston, addressed the body. "We don't want any half-hearted lovers here," he said. "We don't want you to say about this union, 'She's weak, she's funny looking, she's a wreck, but she's mine!'"

He urged the members to accept the contract if they thought it was a good beginning, if they could feel proud of it. "But if you can't hold your head up when you walk down the street with her, then don't be afraid to strike."

By secret ballot, the contract was accepted overwhelmingly.

*Note: Since many ITT readers are also free-lance writers, they may want to contact Kitty Krupat, District 65, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY, to familiarize themselves with the rights, benefits, and minimums of Village Voice contributors. Barbara Garson is the author of MacBird and All the Livelong Day: The Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work. (Penguin). As a free-lance writer she is a member of District 65's Village Voice unit.*

## ALBUM



Photograph by Ed Kweskin.



## SPORTS

# 'The Greatest' is getting old

By Manning Marable

Muhammad Ali may have won his last heavyweight championship fight.

Several weeks ago Ali faced Ernie Shavers, a tough, 33-year-old slugger from Warren, Ohio. Shavers had knocked out 52 opponents in his 54 professional victories, but the oddsmakers doubted that he had the stamina to stay in the ring with the champion for 15 gruelling rounds. Ali himself casually dismissed Shavers as "The Acorn," because of the black challenger's smoothly shaved head.

During the first 12 rounds, Ali took a commanding lead over Shavers. Several times Shavers had scored solidly with overhand rights to Ali's face, but the challenger was too slow to take real advantage of his overpowering strength. Suddenly, during rounds 13 and 14, Shavers came alive, punching Ali's chest, kidneys and ribs with solid shots. At the bell starting the last round Ali could barely stand. Waltzing sleepily into Shavers, the champion was smashed with a fearsome right hand that would have cleanly decked any other boxer. Angelo Dundee, Ali's experienced trainer, said aloud, "That's the ball game."

More out of pride than strength or skill, Ali asserted himself, as he has so many times in the past. Here was the Old Ali, returning to a swarm of powerful combinations, nearly knocking out Shavers at the bell. The crowd at ringside was on its feet; the fight was over; Ali was still the heavyweight champion of the world.

I have grown up with Muhammad Ali, as have millions of others. During John F. Kennedy's Cuban Missile Crisis and the last dark days of the Cold War, young Cassius Clay was just coming of age. The "Louisville Lip," he was called, the black youngster who "floats like a butterfly and stings like a bee."

We remember him standing with Malcolm X, proud and strong after his surprising victory over tough Sonny Liston, announcing to the world that he was now "Muhammad Ali," and a member of the Nation of Islam.

We recall white America's response. Newspapers and sports commentators on the major TV networks refused to utter the words "Muhammad Ali," referring to "Cassius Clay." Ali openly denounced America's illegal and immoral war in Vietnam and Cambodia, declaring that he would refuse to fight against the Viet Cong. Because of his deep political convictions, his heavyweight championship was stripped from him. He was barred from fighting in every major arena in the country. A phony boxing tournament was organized to crown a phony, Uncle Tom champion for the heavyweight division. White sports writers like the *New York Daily News'* Dick Young printed endless, petty attacks against Ali's character.

But Ali refused to abandon his principles. Like Jack Johnson, America's first black heavyweight champion, Ali laughed at white America's values, its social graces, its exalted heroes. His speed, his sure knowledge of the ring and his consistent ability to take physical punishment made him the best pure boxer of his generation, and perhaps the best heavyweight of all time.

Ali reminded black Americans that all sports, especially boxing, are profoundly political. When poor, deluded Floyd Patterson declared in 1965 that he would beat Ali and "return the heavyweight crown to America," people learned that a "Great White Hope" could be black as well as white. When big George Foreman, while winning the 1968 Olympic boxing championship, waved a miniature American flag before the ABC television cameras, we began to understand that he was being used to please the psychological and political conscience of whites and the Negro middle class. And when Ali, the peoples' champion, used his "rope-a-dope" to knock out and humiliate Foreman in their celebrated fight in Zaire three years ago, we cheered.

Ali has successfully fought against more different kinds of boxers and pugilistic styles than any fighter in sports history. His comeback victory over an overrated Jerry Quarry in 1970 sparked a popular celebration in the streets of Atlanta. Ali's three punishing fights with Joe Frazier, who stands next to Ali as the toughest heavyweight since 1965, were perhaps the greatest boxing contests of all time.

In the mid-'60s Ali's commanding speed and confident, cocky manner dominated every fight; now in the twilight of his career, his legs slowed with age, Ali must rely upon his psychological insights to control the tempo of each contest.

But Ali, only a human being, is not perfect. His contest prior to the Shavers fight, with Alfredo Evangelista, could scarcely be called a decent contest. Going through the motions, fat and tired, hopelessly out of shape, suffering from endless marital problems, Ali has become more like a Hollywood celebrity than a real athlete. Shaking hands with the likes of Ford and Carter, Ali has all but abandoned his original political allegiance with Malcolm.

And now, the end is in plain view. Madison Square Garden has told Ali that he will not be allowed to fight there again. Herbert Muhammad, the leader of the Nation of Islam, did not even attend the Shavers fight, and has urged the champion to retire. Ali at 35 is no longer the



graceful, innocent black champion; after earning over \$44 million, after becoming more and more a part of mainstream America, Ali finds it difficult, perhaps impossible, to accept the limitations that age places on every person.

If Ali does not retire within the next six to twelve months, he will undoubtedly lose to a younger, aggressive fighter possessing vastly inferior skills than he.

But despite the years, no one can ever diminish what Ali meant to me, and to all of us, during the turbulent age of the '60s.

There can never be another Ali. Thanks, Ali, for that.

Manning Marable is chairman of the Political Science department at Tuskegee Institute and an associate fellow of the Institute of the Black World in Atlanta.

## Wit' a Brooklyn Accent

### Who to watch for in the NBA

By Mark Naison

The new NBA season is off to a rousing start. After three weeks of play, teams like Atlanta and New Orleans, once the doormats of the NBA, are tearing up the league, while the once-proud Boston Celtics seem to have fallen apart. Kareem Jabbar, long a favorite target of NBA hatchet men, has developed a devastating right-hand punch; the feuding 76ers have chosen a schoolyard ballplayer (Billy Cunningham) as their coach; and the otherwise pathetic Nets have come up with a rookie named Bernard King who looks like the second coming of Dr. J.

The league is better balanced than ever but I think that a few teams will establish their supremacy by the end of the season. The teams to beat, in my opinion, are the 76ers, the Trailblazers and the Lakers, though there are a few clubs who might stay with them if the breaks go their way.

#### The Front Runners

**The Philadelphia 76ers.** This may be the year the 76ers take it all. The new coach, Billy Cunningham, is close friends with many of the players and may be the right person to get the superstars on the club to mesh their talents.

The key to the whole operation could be 20-year-old Darryl Dawkins. Dawkins is the starting center this year, and if he continues to develop at the rate he did at the end of last season, he will give the Sixers a dominant presence at the only position where they have been vulnerable.

If Dawkins can control the defensive backboards and throw the good outlet pass, the Sixers can run a fast-breaking, free-lance attack that uses their quickness and one-on-one skills to advantage. When that happens the rest of the league had better watch out.

**The Portland Trailblazers.** The Blazers are fundamentally the same team that

won the NBA championship last year and have started the season in torrid form. If Bill Walton and Maurice Lucas stay healthy, they could easily repeat; the teamwork, speed and depth that were their trademarks all seem to be there. But the Blazers are going to be marked men this season, the team against which all the other gauge their progress. In a long season, that kind of notoriety can take its toll.

**The Los Angeles Lakers.** For the first time in years, Kareem "Rocky" Jabbar has a supporting cast of fast young players. The addition of Jamaal Wilkes at forward and Norm Nixon at guard, and the return of injured power forward Kermit Washington, gives the Lakers a starting five that can run the fast break.

Veterans Lou Hudson and Don Chaney anchor a solid bench. The rookie backup center, James Edwards, has shown great offensive ability, and should enable Jabbar to get more rest when he returns to the lineup.

The key will be Jabbar: if he is healthy and shows the intensity that has sometimes been lacking in his play during the last few years, the Lakers can beat anyone.

#### Dark Horses

**The Chicago Bulls.** The Bulls were the hottest team in the league at the end of last season and gave the Trailblazers the hardest time in the playoffs. This year they have been erratic, but have wins over some of the league's best teams.

Their main problems are a weak bench and the inconsistent play of their center Artis Gilmore. At his best, Gilmore is a match for Walton and Jabbar, but he plays that way only every other game. If he puts it all together at key moments this season, the Bulls will be very tough to beat.

**The Detroit Pistons.** The Pistons have as much individual talent as any team in the NBA. Their front line of M.L. Carr, Marvin Barnes and Bob Lanier (backed up by Leon Douglas and Al Eberhard) is physically the strongest in the league, and they have four excellent guards.

But the Pistons seem to hate each other (and their coach) even more than the 76ers, and it seems to affect their play. If center and team leader Bob Lanier can stay healthy and help his teammates settle their differences on the court, Detroit could surprise a lot of people.

**The New York Knicks.** If new coach Willis Reed can persuade or intimidate the stars on his team to hit the open man rather than build up their scoring averages, the Knicks could be a contender.

They have great scorers in Earl Monroe and Bob McAdoo, good rebounders in Lonnie Shelton and Spencer Halwood, and three fine rookies. But there are still a lot of rough edges in the Knick attack, and if they aren't worked out soon, New York fans will have to wait another year before their dreams of glory materialize.

**The Houston Rockets, Denver Nuggets, Cleveland Cavaliers and Milwaukee Bucks.** These are all "college boy" teams, which will amass good records during the regular season, but will have difficulty in the playoffs. All of these teams have talented and unselfish players who play with enthusiasm and work well together, but they all lack the dominating center that a championship team seems to require.

With the exception of the Golden State Warriors in 1975, each NBA champion in the last 15 years has had a "bad dude" in the middle (Bill Russell, Wilt Chamberlain, Willis Reed, Dave Cowens, Kareem Jabbar, and Bill Walton, in case anyone forgot.) I see no reason why the results this season should diverge from the pattern.



## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## TELEVISION



Dr. Carl Eisdorfer, gerontologist, and Hugh Downs, host.

## New show for older people

Beginning in mid-November (later in some places) PBS is making available to its affiliated stations *Over Easy*, a daily program aimed at those "on the upward swing past 40" or "older Americans" or the "Prime Generation."

(The problem of what to call this segment of the population is giving the copy-writers a bad case of the stutters. But there is consensus on the importance of the audience. A quotation from the U.S. Census Bureau, featured on the press kit, projects the possibility that by the year 2000 "the cutting edge of social change could well be controlled by Americans over age 55.")

The format of the series is impressively varied. Each show will feature a "celebrity" interview by host Hugh Downs. Apparently the idea is to woo an audience accustomed to star-studded talk shows and at the same time to demonstrate that there are people who maintain their glamour and/or effectiveness long after the median age.

Lillian Carter is the celebrity on the first program. Others in the weeks to follow include Tennessee Ernie Ford, Mr. and Mrs. Redd Foxx, Senator Frank Church, Eartha Kitt, Roy Rogers and Dale Evans, Averill Harriman, Margaret Mead, Jessica Mitford and Pat O'Brien.

An interview of equivalent length on each program explores the lives of older people whose experience and resources are more typical. For example, as a counterweight to Ms. Lillian, there is an interview with Esther Hagler, an immigrant textile worker, long retired, whose discussion of her right to the benefits of her "harvest years" is a tribute to the achievements of the U.S. working class in the last 50 years.

Other "Lifestyle" segments include an interview with a Papago Indian woman whose problem of adjustment is more concerned with a culture than a generation gap; a discussion of the relative advantages of marriage and living together without benefit of

clergy or magistrate; and a photo study of a group of Californians who go into the truck farms and orchards after the harvest, pick up what's left, package and deliver it to people who need it.

One of the most useful segments, called "Keeping Posted," is a discussion by *Over Easy* consumer expert Barbara Gregg of areas where members of the audience may be presumed to have difficulties. One day she deals with the problems of mail-order shopping, the dangers of rip-off and what can be done to avoid them. Another day it's the problem of drivers' insurance for the "mature." Another time it's the problems of getting credit after you're off a regular payroll, or coping with the phone company.

There is a battery of impressive consultants on the regular staff of *Over Easy*, and most programs include a discussion with at least one of them. Dr. Carl Eisdorfer, one of the country's most distinguished gerontologists, discusses mental health on the premier program. Later ones will have Dr. Robert Binstock of Brandeis University on political action by the senior age group. Dr. James Schulz, also of Brandeis, will discuss economic problems of those living on retirement incomes.

There is a nutritionist (Alma Lach) and a gourmet cook (Narsai David) who discuss balancing one's diet, cooking for a single eater as well as preparing a feast dish for a festive occasion. And there is a gardening expert (John Bryan) to discuss the cut-of miniature gardening or planting bulbs for indoor bloom.

Probably most useful of all is a public service announcement section that will give tips on dealing with Medicare and Medicaid, social security for women, and preventive health care, etc.

Something for everybody, and if everybody listens, in no time at all there will be competing programs on the networks. Who knows, there may yet be some reason to watch TV weekdays before five.

—J.S.

## BOOKS

## Crime novel by a retired cop

**THE INVESTIGATION**  
By Dorothy Uhnak  
Simon and Schuster, \$9.95

Crimes can't occur quickly enough for a certain variety of novelist. Zola found his "human beast" in a Paris daily. *An American Tragedy*, Dreiser's masterpiece, grew out of a newspaper account of an upstate New York murder trial.

Dorothy Uhnak, a retired New York City police officer, is like a number of her contemporaries—writing in this tradition. Her crime is the Alice Crimmens case, in which the young, swinging mother of two from the New York borough of Queens was accused of murdering her children, with a little help from her male friends.

Uhnak's novel derives much of its interest for the reader by staying as close to actual events as possible. Its fictional force stems from Uhnak's use of the point of view of one of the investigating officers for telling her story.

This leads to a certain amount



Author Dorothy Uhnak.

of trouble, particularly because Joe Peters, the policeman narrator, has an affair with the indicted Kitty Keeler. The arrangement seems on the surface just a bit far-fetched, but by using Peters, Uhnak creates a deeply involving and credible sequence of incidents based on his efforts to dig

up evidence contrary to the grand jury's findings.

Unlike Uhnak's predecessors in the naturalist crime novel, she is interested in police work and police corruption rather than in the criminal mind and its social context. On this level, *The Investigation* is quite compelling.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the novel is the carefully maintained masculine point of view. Peters is one of the most believable male narrators any woman writer has yet created.

For these reasons, good and bad, this fact/fiction novel is extremely interesting. It has, according to the *New York Times* best-seller charts, replaced over-the-fence gossip in some parts of New York City. How ironic that at its center stands the wooden figure of a potentially fascinating contemporary female criminal.

—Alan Chouse

Alan Chouse is a professor of English at Bennington College and regularly reviews fiction for *IN THESE TIMES*.

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Ed Sadlowski



### NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

David Moberg on the fortunes of two trend-setting community organizations: CAP and the Illinois Public Action Council; a report on rightwing "public interest" foundations; the fate of poli-

tical prisoners in South Africa; Mervyn Jones on the rise and fall of the British economy; some observations on the danger of smog; and the latest on Chicago political scandals.

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# Records



**TWILLEY DON'T MIND**  
Dwight Twilley Band  
(Arista Records)

The Twilley band is another group that hails from that mecca of southwestern rock, Tulsa, Okla. They are on the Arista label through a licensing arrangement with Shelter Records, the organization that gave other Tulsa boys like Leon Russell and J.J. Cale their big starts.

Twilley's roots lie in a tight basic beat, accentuated by strong vocal harmonies. It's these vocals (duets between Twilley and Phil Seymour) that solidify the group's ties with a geography that has given rock the voices of Buddy Holly, Roy Orbison and the Everly Brothers.

It's sometimes forgotten that rock is not only the focal point for lead voices or personalities like Jagger, Slick, Joplin, Ronstadt, Dylan or Plant. One direction of rock works through beautifully arranged voices, rather than "sound" constructed around lead instruments and personalities. The Twilley Band features two voices in constant harmony from start to finish, allowing simple musical progressions to take on added amplitude, as for example in cuts like "Twilley Don't Mind," "Here She Comes" and "Invasion."

Twilley's music is a welcome return to a style of rock appreciated by artists like Lennon and McCartney, both being affected by Holly and the Everlys.

Buddy Holly's records still stand up today on the strength of lyrics, the rockabilly sound, and most important, his voice.

If you listen to the work of the Everlys, you can hear voices stressing melodic integration above all else. The Twilley group believes in a similar musical style. It enhances the power of their sound and creates interesting rock that continues to generate both listening and dancing music.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches communications at Eastern Illinois University.

## CROSBY, STILLS AND NASH (Atlantic)

Openness is the key to this album, a much-heralded reunion of three people who eight years ago put an important cast on rock sensibility and its expression.

The three have been through a great deal: massive publicity and adulation, a good share of tragedy in their personal lives, particularly in the case of Crosby and Stills.

They've come together after eight years to form a temporary community based on a shared vision, a new willingness to take musical risks, and the perfect, expected harmonies. They seem to have grown through their experience. They harmonize as beautifully as ever. Stills is gruff, giving the music its rough, rock taste; Crosby is sweet and modest; and Nash with his high clear voice gives it room to breathe.

All three songwriters explore the themes of community and time, reminding us of where they were, what they've gone through and how they want to be.

There's an urgency to the best of the songs—Stills' "See the Changes" and Nash's incredible "Cathedral"—that allows the album to transcend its preoccupation and become timeless.

Crosby, (the weakest link in the trio but its essential foundation) is at least honest here: "I'm the world's most opinionated man," he sings in his "Anything At All."

In "Cathedral" Nash takes us on a trip through his mind, telling us he sometimes doesn't know who he is, but given time he'll be fine.

*Part of me is screaming to say. I want to be carried away.*

he sings in "Carried Away," leaving the impulse of that resolution open.

There's a calculation here. It would be naive to assume that CSN would release an album that's raw and unstructured. This album plays effortlessly, smoothly, ranging from Stills' rough, faintly Spanish tinge, to Nash's open, slightly Gregorian harmonic structures.

I've read some reviews of this album that say it is dated and bland. I don't agree, since I think it is an important one, a testament to survival and creativity.

—Carlo Wolff

## SIMPLE THINGS

Carole King  
(Capitol)

For her first new album in several years, King is offering pop tunes, harder and musically clearer than what we're used to hearing from her.

One of the pioneers of soft rock, long before Fleetwood Mac and Frampton laid claim to pre-eminence in that field, King now fits right in. She has a new label, a new band, a six-man Colorado group called Navarro, which complements her vocals and keyboard work beautifully.

The songs written with Rick Evers, her new musical and emotional associate, are not as strong as the ones written by herself, with the exception of the powerful, "Hold On," which seems to be about someone wrongfully imprisoned and features an arresting hook.

But the title tune, with a pretty enough melody, has vapid lyrics, as do "One," "To Know That I Love You," and "In the Name of Love."

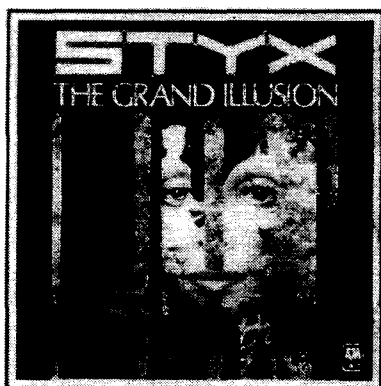
The rest of the album is strong. When King deals with the difficulties of love ("Labyrinth," "You're the One Who Knows" and the angry, stirring "God Only Knows") she's a convincing chronicler of the modern hypersensitive sensibility. And in "Hard Rock Cafe," she's written a tough, up tempo masterpiece about rock music, kind of a bleached "Living for the City." It's catchy, sassy, clean and it swings.

When she started out, she was mainly a composer, with such credits as "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow" and "The Locomotion." Those songs haven't become dated; their simplicity has lasted. She's been singing for and by herself now for some time, and her work has grown more complex. When she surrenders to that complexity, as in "God Only Knows," a long cry of pain from a person who recognizes she doesn't have the answers, she's very powerful. When she cops out to the "simple things," her music is pap.

Strength and pap cohabit on this interesting album. Fortunately, strength has a slight edge.

—Carlo Wolff

Carlo Wolff is a journalist in Albany who reviews records regularly for IN THESE TIMES.



**THE GRAND ILLUSION**  
Styx  
(A&M Records)

Styx no doubt are eagerly awaiting reviews of their seventh album. The reviews will contribute to the illusion the members of this Chicago-based band are trying to perpetuate: that we're all the same, and that these guys (Denis De Young, Tommy Shaw, James Young, John and Chuck Panozzo) wonder "who the hell we are."

As a statement of truth, this album doesn't make it. Styx know who they are and what they're doing. But as an exploration of what it means to be rock stars, it's their strongest album yet: a meditation on identity whose strength lies more in music than words.

"Superstars" should release as a single: its lyrics are incisive, its harmonies ringing, and it has an unforgettable chorus.

"Come Sail Away," a dazzling invitation to escape, begins with lovely acoustic Shaw guitar leading to spacy keyboard swirls by De Young, all dominated by one of the group's trademarks—tight harmonies. Young's "Miss America," a tough exploration of that institution, kicks off side two and features the best lyrics of the album, including this neat cliché turnaround:

*Well it's true just take a look  
The cover sometimes makes the book*

*And the judges did they ever ask  
To read between the lines?*

Interesting, provocative and expert rock'n'roll, *The Grand Illusion* is a winner. The large full-color poster in the album is the package's real illusion, disposable as illusions should be. The album, however, is far from disposable.

Musically and lyrically, it is a step forward for Styx, who for the first time show a sense of irony. They've begun to match their musical strengths with a vision of the world, and the match is promising.

—Carlo Wolff

## CLASSIFIED

Albany NY-ITT will co-sponsor a conference on "Health Care Planning in the Capitol District: Radical Alternatives" Wed., Dec. 14, at the Capitol District Psychiatric Center. The other co-sponsor is Dept. of Community and Preventive Medicine at Albany Medical College. Speakers include: Sander Kelman, keynote speaker, Cornell University, "Health Insurance, Health Service, or Health." Dr. Andrew McBride, Director, Whitney Young Health Care Center, "Problems of Health Care Delivery in our Area and Elsewhere." Molly Back-up, Physician Assistant, Community Health Plan, "Work Process, Hierarchy and Division of Labor in Local Treatment Models." Ed Bloch Int'l. Rep. United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, "Stress on the Job: The Case of the PCB's at the Hudson Falls GE Plant." Dr. Tim Liveright, Moderator. Informal workshops may follow the initial presentations. For more information contact Gene Damm, 22 Fairlawn Ave., Albany, NY 12203 (518)482-7675.

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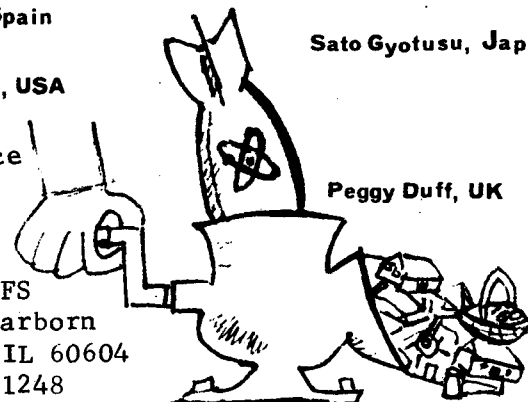
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## FILM

# Equus loses in translation to the wide screen

## EQUUS

Screenplay by Peter Shaffer,  
from his own play  
Directed by Sidney Lumet  
Starring Richard Burton, Peter  
Firth and Joan Plowright

Billed as a psychological thriller, *Equus* would be a lot more satisfactory if it settled for being just that.

The story—told almost entirely in flashbacks—is the unravelling of the motivation behind a peculiarly repulsive crime of violence, committed by a boy who loves horses upon six of his favorites. The psychiatrist who does the unravelling (Richard Burton) begins to wonder early on whether he is doing his patient a favor. He can cure the boy of his obsession, put an end to his nightmares and probably keep him out of an asylum, but he will in the process rob him of the passion that raises a humdrum life to peaks of ecstasy when it isn't driving him criminally insane.

As theater this worked very well. The psychiatrist's self-doubts and vague allusions to deep, dark forces at work in the caves of everyone's psyche were embellishments on a gripping melodrama, brilliantly and imaginatively staged. The audience could take the philosophizing or leave it.

Not so in the film version.

Richard Burton delivers all the "deeper meaning" monologues with full Shakespearean flourish, photographed at closer and closer range until one of his eyes fills the entire wide screen and his voice thunders like that of some Greek god-out-of-the-machine.

And this is not the only—nor even the worst way in which the camera spoils what was a fine piece of theater. The staged attack on the horses was horrendous; the viewer's imagination made it real. The film version is real—or at least it looks so real that it breaks the illusion. One forgets the problem of the bedeviled boy and begins to worry about how those bloody shots were managed—unless they really did that to real horses!

(This is an object lesson in why the old Greek dramatists did their bloody work off stage and wheeled in the results.)

There are lots of good things about *Equus*—fine performances, marvelous photography (especially in the scenes of the boy's secret night rides), and the same literate, taut script that made the play so powerful.

But it is not a successful transposition from one art to another, and it is not going to throw any new light on the "dark recesses" of the human soul.

—Janet Stevenson



Peter Firth, who played Alan Strang on stage, now plays the role in the film.

## Semi-serious story of a Vietnam vet

...to dispel the national amnesia about Vietnam and its veterans.

## HEROES

Screenplay by James Carabatsos  
Directed by Jeremy Paul Kagan  
Starring Henry Winkler and Sally Field  
Universal Pictures, Rated PG

*Heroes* is the story of a disturbed but lovably wacky Vietnam vet, played by Henry (the Fonz) Winkler, who sets off on a cross-country journey to find his old comrades-in-arms and begin the worm farm they have planned together. The worm farm is an unrealizable dream, one facet of Jack Dunne's (Winkler) refusal to accept the fact that his friend Monroe is dead—killed in action while saving Dunne and three other soldiers.

The film is curiously ambiguous. The underlying theme is profound, but the tone, plot and characterizations are Hollywood schlock at its worst.

On the one hand, the screenplay refers to the issue of the war and its effect on countless veterans, portrays the camaraderie of men who shared each other's lives at the edge of human endurance, and sharply projects the returning combat veteran's

disrespect for traditional authorities, which may be the most enduring legacy of that brutal time.

On the other hand, it trivializes the subject by offering the saccharine conclusion that one good woman can assuage and privately eliminate a deeply social pain.

Early in his odyssey, Dunne meets a young woman (Sally Field) who is pulling back from a wedding date and who gets enmeshed in his quest. In the end, love between them wins out amidst the wreckage of that quest.

This excessively romantic ending might be more understandable if we knew more about the lovers, who are presented as isolates, divorced from family ties, jobs, residences, class and ethnic background. We know that they live in New York City, that one protested the war while the other fought it, that one is engaged to someone named Joel while the other has three old Army buddies. But we never learn why they are drawn to each other or what they receive from each other.

The minor characters are presented with no more depth. The sequences with Ken (Harrison Ford), a troubled veteran who has returned to his family's hard-scrabble farm, are opaque. When he fires his smuggled M-16 at the stars, the writer and director seem to be straining to tell us something about Vietnam and what it did to the men who fought there, but what, is hopelessly unclear.

Most of the film is played for



laughs (what will our wacky veteran hero do next?) and serious moments like the roadhouse fight scene are negated by slapstick endings. We are not adequately prepared for the closing sequence, which is climaxed by Dunne's memory of Vietnam.

This is the most effective part of the film. Brief as those TV newsclips that had such an effect on public opposition to the war, this segment personalizes the horror.

Winkler has been quoted in the press as questioning whether "the country is ready for it yet." Those responsible for the film believe the country is not and have chosen to undercut the film's seriousness with uneven comedy, facile advertising "finding the one you love is finding yourself"), and a happily-ever-after ending.

Despite this, *Heroes* is worth seeing.

In addition to the Vietnam sequences, there are good scenes: Dunne with the VA doctor; Monroe's parents being cruelly reminded of their loss; Dunne and the Army recruiting sergeant, and others. It does attempt—however mildly—to dispel the national amnesia about Vietnam and its veterans.

As one of the first in a series of soon-to-be-released films on the subject, it may prepare the way for a national accounting of those years.

—Gary Kulik

Gary Kulik is a veteran of the war in Vietnam.



# Philadelphia Story

Photo by Edward Freeman, Philadelphia Inquirer



Laura Foreman (far right), while a reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, accepted more than \$20,000 in gifts from State Senator Henry Cianfrani (left). It cost her her job.

**The story at the *Philadelphia Inquirer* involved more than \$20,000 in gifts to a reporter. It included a tangle of sexual affairs, newsroom warfare and editorial favoritism.**

**By Chuck Fager**  
PHILADELPHIA—On Sunday, Oct. 16, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, one of this city's major dailies, published a long investigative article that, like many such pieces, described political corruption, mishandling of public funds and government misconduct. Like other such probes, it also delved into the wideranging extramarital sex life of a prominent Pennsylvania state official.

What set this article apart, however, was the fact that the main subject of the *Inquirer*'s investigation was the *Inquirer* itself.

Work on the self-investigation project began six weeks earlier, in the beginning of September. A few days before, on Aug. 27, the *Inquirer* had run an article disclosing that a former reporter, Laura Foreman, had accepted gifts and cash worth at least \$20,000 from Pennsylvania State Senator Henry Cianfrani in 1975 and 1976, while Foreman was working as an *Inquirer* political reporter covering, among other things, Cianfrani's extensive political involvements.

Foreman, who was then working in the Washington Bureau of the *New York*

*Times*, firmly denied that her relationship with Cianfrani had affected her reporting. She was subsequently fired by the *Times*.

The story could have ended there, and it did as a daily news item. But the *Inquirer*'s new editor, Edwin Guthman, and his executive editor, Eugene Roberts, were concerned about the story's impact on the paper's credibility. They were jealous of the paper's relatively recent rise to prominence among urban dailies on the strength of hard-hitting investigative exposes. The Oct. 16 article was their attempt to regain credibility through a thorough recounting of how the conflict of interest developed.

The piece was put together by Pulitzer-Prize winning team of Donald Barlett and James Steele, and edited by Guthman, who had come to the paper after the incident.

The story Barlett and Steele uncovered revealed more than the transfer of \$20,000 worth of gifts and cash; it included a tangle of sexual affairs, intra-newsroom warfare, editorial favoritism, ass-covering and political maneuvering. It was the kind of story that normally reaches print only in novels.

State Senator Henry Cianfrani is at the center of the story. At 54, Cianfrani is a political pro of the old machine school. Philadelphia mayor Frank Rizzo counts him as one of his closest friends and allies. Cianfrani's record of shady dealings and retrogressive legislative tactics is reportedly as long as his arm. On Sept. 23 he was indicted by a federal grand jury on 110 counts of racketeering, mail fraud, obstruction of justice and income tax evasion.

Cianfrani is also well known as a womanizer. "He gives the image of the greatest stud who ever came down the pike. He comes from a macho world where it's how many women you've scored with that counts. One of his former girlfriends said.

He left—but never divorced—his wife 20 years ago. He built a \$50,000 house for one woman friend—the federal indictment charges that he also put her on the state payroll without requiring her to do any work.

Another girlfriend, Pat Arney, told the *Inquirer* in 1972 that Cianfrani, who is an opponent of legalized abortion, had paid for one for her. When the senator denied

the charge, Arney and her doctor produced records showing Cianfrani's payment.

Still another woman bore a child in the course of her alliance with Cianfrani, which ran concurrently with several others.

What did a professional, and presumably sophisticated reporter like Laura Foreman, 20 years younger, see in an operator like Cianfrani? According to her lawyer, Robert McCandless of Washington, she saw the possibility of marriage based on "unpremeditated love." Friends of hers at the *Inquirer* corroborated that assertion.

This romantic's view is undermined in the Oct. 16 article by other facts assembled by the investigators, which show that Foreman herself had collected a lengthy string of lovers, who were often well situated to help her career. These included—"As best as can be determined about such matters," the reporters said delicately—two unidentified former *Inquirer* staffers, both married, one of whom had been in a position to pass on Foreman's work.

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